

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

VOLUME VI.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER XXXIV.

OCTOBER, 1886

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VOL. VI.—OCTOBER, 1886.—No. XXXIV.

THEISM AND EVOLUTION.

I.

To know whether any conclusion is to be believed or disbelieved as the result of a rational process we need clear vision of the conclusion itself. That is to say, in the present instance, theism must be defined.

I believe in one God, Lord of heaven and earth. This *credo* states the theistic position, yet in such language as to require further explanation. What is meant and what must be meant by the words "one God"? We answer, the unity of a person and perfectness of nature. Comte has traced the thought of men through polytheism, monotheism, and metaphysics, to positivism. Mr. Spencer has recognized the tendency of religious thought to deanthromorphize its God. Both Comte and Spencer have concluded that the highest religious idea must therefore come to be entirely without anthropomorphic character. From having conceived many gods like themselves, even in their imperfections, men have risen to one God like themselves in excellence only. The final step, therefore, will be taken — indeed, is taken — by the cultured mind of to-day, and God is unlike man in every respect. He is not only more than man, He is non-man. The word "He" may not be associated with the word "God." God is the impersonal, invisible, and unknowable noumenon or force or existence. Of God no further predication, in the sense of affirmation, can be made. Respecting this position we must say that, whether true or false, it is not theism. Further, whether true or false, it is not a position made necessary or justified by the tendency to deanthropomorphize as historically illustrated.

Because personalities have been narrowed to personality it does not follow that personality may disappear and anything of theism

remain. Personality may be essential to theism. That such is, in fact, the case may be realized by considering the nature of belief. Belief and negation are impossible of union. When we deny one thing of one subject we affirm something else. To deny limitations of being is not to deny existence of being; it is exactly the opposite, namely, to affirm the reality of being. To deny limitations of attributes is not to deny existential character of these attributes; it is rather to affirm such existence in absolute manner. The attempt to regard pure being as pure nothing is the suicide of reason.

I have said that personality is essential to theism. An unknowable, impersonal existence may be believed, but such existence cannot be called "God." The term "God" has been set apart to express the *highest* being. Now the highest being we can conceive is personality. As a person, because I am a person I front the manifestations of the universe with confidence in my superiority. My personality is limited; in denying limited personality to God do I deny the reality of his personality? On the contrary, I assert this without qualification. What is it that I find as the essential elements of my personality? They are self-consciousness, intelligence, self-hood. In me these are limited, in Him unlimited, in me imperfect, in Him perfect. Therefore when I predicate personality of God I predicate far more than when using the term of myself. I certainly do not limit—I remove limits. God, therefore, if representative of the highest being, must signify self-hood—consciousness, intelligence. It has been often said that there are three verbally intelligible theories of the universe: (1) that it is self-existent, (2) that it is self-created, (3) that it has been created by some other and external being. We have here atheism, pantheism, and theism. It is at once seen that atheism and theism agree in assuming a self-existent something. The point of difference is exactly in this element of personality. In so far as pantheism speaks of a *self-created* existence it contradicts reason. The eternal substance is uncreated, not self-created. This reduces pantheism to atheism. Theism maintains its distinctness by insistence upon the element of personality. At this point we are met by a "cosmic theism," which Professor Fiske states as follows: "There exists a power to which no limit in space or time is conceivable, of which all phenomena, as presented in consciousness, are manifestations, but which we can only know through these manifestations." The word "power" in this *credo* seems to distinguish cosmic theism from pantheism, but the writer

expressly tells us that we must not regard his term "power" as having more than a relative or symbolic meaning; that some indifferently word — "being," "substance" — would be preferable. This is atheism or pantheism over again.

In so far as substance, being, power, or whatever noumenal reality may be covered by these terms, stands out of all relation to us the knowing intelligences, in so far it is anti-theistic. Now it lies fundamentally in Mr. Spencer's doctrine of relativity that we know only the phenomenal; that the absolute, the noumenon, cannot be known, simply because it is and must be forever out of relation to us the knowers. This contradicts the central teaching of theism, namely, that God is out of relation to everything but human consciousness. God, for the theist, is beyond necessary relation to phenomena, but in actual relation to us as self-conscious intelligences. What is called "cosmic theism" may represent truth; it can never represent theism.

I have said that theism involves perfectness of nature in the God whom it declares. Perfection is the root attribute of God, according to an intelligent theism. This truth would require no emphasis, but for the astounding fact that another attribute has, from earliest times, been made prominent as expressive of the divine nature. I refer to the attribute of power. It is natural that, historically, this idea should have appeared first; it is every way unnatural that it should have held its ground in thinking minds to the present day. Man's physical weakness before the might of nature would compel him to regard God as strength, as the All-powerful One. And we may, in part, account for the persistence of this idea by the very fact of its inferiority, its grossness, its physical character. Power as force is more to be recognized by the sensual man than holiness, excellence; and for the many, who are but children of larger growth, God is, first and always, power, force, will. If, as theism maintains, God be a self-conscious, intelligent being, He must prove the best being, the Perfect One. This necessity lies in the idea of God as superior. The individual man has no superior but the *person* who is *better* than himself, — better in the sense of moral excellence. As with individuals, so with our race: we have no superior, in the full sense of that term, except there be above us a Perfect One, reigning by the might of his excellence.

If now we know what theism means we are in possession of much; it does not follow that we are in possession of theism as a conclusion accredited by our reason. Our first step has been

taken, not necessarily toward the theistic conclusion, but toward the difficult matter of testing that conclusion in the light of reason.

Can we prove the existence of a Perfect Personality — an Infinite Selfhood, conscious, intelligent? In addressing ourselves to this subject we must clear off much rubbish from the side of inconceivability, and we must then determine what is meant by proving a conclusion.

It seems agreed upon that the infinite cannot be conceived by the finite. Years ago Hamilton wrote vigorously to show that "the mind can know only the limited and the conditionally limited. The unconditionally unlimited, or the absolute, cannot positively be construed to the mind; they can be conceived only by a thinking away from, or abstraction of, those very conditions under which thought itself is realized." This position Mr. Spencer has accepted and enforced by many additional considerations. He quotes Mr. Mansel as follows: "The very conception of consciousness, in whatever mode it may be manifested, necessarily implies distinction between one object and another. But distinction is always *limitation*." Of God, therefore, we can have no consciousness, because, as the Infinite One, He cannot be distinguished, which is the root necessity of consciousness. Mr. Spencer elicits the same conclusion by considering human knowledge from the side of *resemblance*. "A thing is perfectly known only when it is in all respects like certain things previously observed. To know is to class. It follows that the first cause, the infinite, the absolute, to be known at all must be classed. To be positively thought of, it must be thought of as such or such, as of this or that kind. Now that which is uncaused cannot be assimilated to that which is caused, the two being, in the very naming, antithetically opposed."

Having thus shown how utterly unapproachable the infinite is for human intelligence, we look to see Mr. Spencer acknowledge himself a Positivist out and out; we look to see him treat only of the phenomenal which lies within his finite grasp. Mr. Spencer, however, is not at all a Positivist. He believes in the absolute, the infinite, the uncaused. He assures us repeatedly that while we can neither know nor think the infinite, we must believe it. A belief in an unknowable reality transcending all conception is a necessity of thought. The phenomenal which we know must be the manifestations of the noumenal which we cannot know. In his summary and conclusion of first principles, Mr. Spencer

says: "We have shown by analysis of both our religious and scientific ideas that while knowledge of the cause which produces effects upon our consciousness is impossible, the existence of a cause for these effects is a datum of consciousness. We saw that the belief in a power of which no limit in time or space can be conceived is that fundamental element in religion which survives all its changes of form. We saw that all philosophies avowedly or tacitly acknowledge this same ultimate truth, that they are compelled to unite in predicating existence transcending perception." All philosophies predicate an existence inconceivable and past finding out, a reality whose ways are not conceivable in terms of our ways, whose thoughts may be anything and everything but our thoughts.

We may, then, on the authority of Mr. Spencer, take it for granted that there is an Absolute Being, an Infinite, an Uncaused Cause. The next step in Mr. Spencer's logic brings out the conclusion that we must withhold *all predication* from the Absolute Being. He exists, *weiter nichts*. We can say nothing about Him, because to do so is to use finite terms, that is, to limit Him, and we cannot conceive Him as limited. Much pondering on this barren result leads me to say that, since we believe in the existence of an unthinkable and forever unapproachable Existence, because we cannot help ourselves, for the very same reason we believe in some kind of attributes or modes as belonging to this unapproachable Existence. The Infinite exists because we cannot think the contrary. The Infinite has modes, and the modes found in our predication, because we cannot think the contrary. Permit a few words as to conceivability and inconceivability, and their relation to knowledge. Do we know anything? Yes, we are told. What? The *phenomenal*, that which appears, the limited which comes into relation to ourselves. This phenomenal, of what is it an expression? Of the *noumenal*. The unknowable does then come into relation with us through its phenomena, its manifestations. Behind the phenomenal, ever escaping us in its absoluteness, is the noumenal; then the noumenal is in part phenomenal; that is to say, known. What do these terms "noumenal" and "phenomenal" mean? Have we here two entities, the one known, the other unknown? Plainly not; we have manifestations of the noumenal. The noumenal, then, which, when trying to grasp *per se*, we have pushed off into the unknowable, is, when we let it alone and go about our business, here at our very doorsteps. We ourselves are it, known only in varying manifestations, but nevertheless known.

To know we must come into relation with the thing known. Do I come into any relations with anything? Yes, I am told, with the phenomenal, the finite, the limited. Limited what? Limited unlimited — the finite infinite. Is it not a fact that around us, within us, above us, the so-called unknowable is ever existing, and when we come into relations do we not come into relations with it? Few the relations may be, and consequently feeble and imperfect the knowledge; but are they not expressive of realities, the realities of this so-called unknowable? What does this incomprehensibility of the infinite mean but the fact that our relations with it are few, and can never be made complete? Does it mean, or can it mean, that we have no relations with it at all? If there be an unknown cause of the known, then the unknown for the time and in part appears, that is, is known. Why may we not regard the noumenal as ever appearing, as ever coming into some relations with us, therefore as ever known by us in finite measure?

Attention must now be called to the position of cosmic theism respecting personality as attributable to God. Mr. Spencer, in denying personality of his infinite power, takes pains to say that "the choice is not between personality and something lower than personality, but rather the choice is between personality and something higher. Is it not just possible that there is a mode of being as much transcending intelligence and will as these transcend mechanical motion?" To this it must be said that if by denying personality of God, we are enlarging our conception of Him, we must make the denial without hesitation. So far as He himself is concerned what we affirm or deny is not of much consequence; so far as our conception of Him is concerned, however, it does make great difference — we are to have the largest possible conception even of that which, according to Mr. Spencer, is beyond conception. Mr. Spencer denies personality of God to magnify his conception of the inconceivable. We shall be surprised to learn that he does this in the very face of conceivability, and that he says so in express terms. He writes, "It is true we are *totally* [italics the present writer's] unable to conceive any higher mode of being than intelligence and will." Yet in the very next sentence he says: "This is not a reason for questioning its existence: it is rather the reverse. Have we not seen how utterly incompetent our minds are to form even an approach to a conception of that which underlies all phenomena? Is it not proved that this incompetency is the incompetency of the conditioned to grasp the

unconditioned? Does it not follow that the ultimate cause cannot in any respect be conceived by us because it is in every respect greater than can be conceived?" This seems unreasonable. Shall we make predications and denials not only beyond reason, but *contrary* to reason? If a being higher than intelligence and will is something we are *totally* unable to conceive, why assert the existence of such a being? Theism, then, is seen to affirm belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, self-conscious, perfect. Can this position be proved? Our question makes it necessary to examine the nature of proof, and to settle clearly what should be understood by *proving a belief*.

To prove is to establish by evidence. Evidence consists of certain experiences of ours which, from their number and character, we take as leading, with more or less inexorability, to a specific judgment. We inquire, What, exactly, is it in these experiences which gives them their evidentiary character? We find that it is *resemblance*. Do we conclude that the living are mortal? We base our judgment on nothing but the experienced likeness between man alive and man dead. It should be distinctly seen that proof is not, never has been, and never can be *demonstration*. To demonstrate is to point out, to make visible. Demonstrating a proposition in mathematics is in no sense proving it; it is simply placing us face to face with the fact. A long, complex, mathematical process needs no proof, admits no proof; it requires *to be seen as a process*. Fortunately or unfortunately this is not the case with by far the larger part of our convictions. In the physical and mental worlds things are *causally* connected one to another. A exercises power in producing B; this is never the case in mathematical relations. It follows that, in the worlds named, we are required to bring proof. This simply because we do not see, and never can see, the causal action of A on B. Here we cannot demonstrate, we cannot bring the subject-matter of our judgments within the territory of sense. This sharp discrimination of the mathematical procedure, which is essentially and always one of vision, from the procedure called proving, is vital. Whether we think so or not, we can never demonstrate the mortality of the living. We cannot demonstrate a single one of the well-established conclusions on which we act from day to day. Why is our doubt respecting these conclusions at a minimum? Because of repeated experimental confirmation by illustration. That *all* men will die we shall never experience; that men die we behold on every hand.

I say to my friend, That piece of paper is on the study table. He asks for proof. I reply, You are in the habit of spreading your papers on the table and of leaving them there. This answer is in the line of proof. But it is not enough. He says, Because I frequently do a thing it does not follow that I do it always. Certainly not, I reply, but it is a sign you have probably done it in a given instance. He is still unsatisfied. I say to him further, On the particular day in question you were very much hurried, and I distinctly remember that, at the conclusion of your writing, a visitor called you abruptly away. He admits this, but rejoins, The grave importance of the paper leads me to feel that I could not have left it behind me on the table: there was too much dependent on the paper, and I knew it would soon be required. My friend and I have been advancing proof, he for one judgment, I for another. This might continue until one of two results should emerge. Either he or I, persuaded by the accumulating evidence, would accept a conclusion and act upon it, or we should feel strengthened in our previous opinions and agree to disagree. Possibly one conclusion or the other could approximately be demonstrated. Going to the table I find the paper pushed away under the corner of a lamp-mat; or he, searching his pockets more thoroughly, discovers the paper fastened to the lining. Before these facts what becomes of proof? It entirely disappears and argument ceases. Now in every mathematical procedure the paper can be found, indeed is found, and pointed out beyond the shadow of a question. It follows that in all cases where inference appears the paper cannot be found, and any conclusion respecting it must have an element of uncertainty. When, therefore, we ask, Can theism be proved? we are not asking whether theism can be *demonstrated*. To demonstrate theism, you must bring a man face to face with the personal God. But, let it be remembered, this undertaking, as an intellectual requirement, is nowise different in kind — that is, as a process — from that which would be needed to demonstrate the mortality of men, or the undulatory theory of light, or any other result of inference. And, further, be it noted, the task would prove no more difficult in the first case than in the others. It is as easy to give a man sense-knowledge of God as it is to give him sense-knowledge of the atom or of the ether. When brought back where it belongs each conclusion of human reason is uncertain. Consider, at this point, what has been said respecting noumenon and phenomenon. The noumenon becoming evident is phenomenon. The noumenon not becoming evident, and in so

far as not evident, is reasoned about, and this with all the imperfection arising from limited experience. Human reason, therefore, is nothing but the attempt of men to exceed the reach of their senses. This is, at the same time, a perilous and an inevitable undertaking, — perilous, because we may conclude falsely; inevitable, because we cannot remain, animal-like, in the territory of sensations. Manifestly so important a process should be guided by every forethought possible. Men do not infer for amusement merely, but for the upbuilding and outreaching of their nature.

To prove is to establish by evidence. Evidence is certain experiences of ours which are thought to make for a conclusion. That in these experiences which gives evidentiary value is resemblance. What proof have we for belief in the existence of a personal God? This question now means, What experiences of ours are in resemblance with, accord with, the idea of God as defined? Are there any? are there none? Are some for, some against? If this last, where lies the *stress* of our experiences?

Before we can come into the heart of this matter we must be clear as to the meaning of the word "experience." To experience something is to *go through* something by *conscious assimilation* on the part of our own personality. The term "experience," unfortunately, is used in a passive and an active sense. Passively a man experiences whatever happens to him; actively he experiences only that which he himself appropriates. Intelligent self-application and a consequent assimilation we intend to cover by the word "experience." The fruitful term in this phrase is "self-application." Self-hood has more than one mode of being, and it may well prove true that the *non-ego*, the not ourselves, shall present distinct departments of reality corresponding to these modes. Should this be the case, experience, such experience as may rationally offer material in proof of judgments, must be broad enough to seize and assimilate the facts, of whatsoever kind these are. A man without music in his soul cannot judge sonatas or symphonies. He has nowise any right to attempt to estimate proofs adduced in behalf of conclusions respecting musical composition. Musical truths must be musically discerned. This teaching casts no reflection upon intellect as supreme arbiter in every rational process brought forward as proof. Concerning the validity of the process intellect decides. Since, however, that which gives proofs their evidentiary character is *resemblance*, the intellect of a person who cannot experience, assimilate, music will be blind in the presence of thorough-going resemblances in this department. If experi-

ence be necessary to the right use of reason, it is but repetition to say that reason cannot proceed prior to experience. If experience mean such assimilation as will produce appreciation, then discernment, which may lead to recognition of similarities, *cannot* come from intellect alone, certainly not as respects those truths which primarily concern other parts of our nature.

Perhaps a better way to put the truth here conceived would be to say that experience by the other parts of our nature prepares truths for the discernment of our intellect. The mind cannot understand sympathy, or arguments based on the fact of sympathy, before sympathy has been experienced. In other words, for a man to reason inductively he must reason experimentally; for him to reason experimentally he must bring his *entire nature* to bear on truths that affect the whole of his nature. I am not seeking here to exalt emotion and depreciate intellect. I am rather considering whether the intellectual function can, by any possibility, be discharged, without the experience, the assimilation, already described. Can a man reason on a subject about which he knows nothing? Does knowledge consist of mere perception? Can a man *know* without feeling? Can he proceed *rationaly* in estimation of arguments for or against theism prior to any assimilation of theism in its spirit? Perhaps Paul was right in saying spiritual truths must be spiritually *discerned*. It may lie in the very interpretation of a rational process, psychologically considered, that it shall contain the *full man*. It may be unreason to pronounce judgment on that which is seen simply intellectually, that is, in its arrangements and from its *formal* side. At all events, such is the position here maintained. Arguments brought forward in support of theism cannot be estimated, because they cannot be *experienced*, by the intellect alone. There is striking confirmation of the general justice of this position. It is found in the fact that the most weighty arguments adduced against theism come from the side of the emotions. It is not intellectual perplexity, as such, that hinders our acceptance of theism. It is rather a strong conviction, arising from the depths of our nature, as to what would be done, and ought to be done, by a perfect being. These convictions thus arising must be allowed full weight in all discussion of our subject. If feelings are part of the facts which inductive examination must presuppose as experienced, that is, assimilated, then it is manifest that *no* feeling should be excluded. The orthodox Christian does but stultify reason in attempting to stifle the uprising of the sense of justice to take its part in the

estimation of proofs. The orthodox Christian is *unreasonable* unless he have had enough experience of the darkness to say : —

“ Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass,
Wer nie die kummervollen Nächte
Auf seinem Bette weinend sass,
Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Mächte ! ”

To prevent any misunderstanding of what has been said about experience and its exact import in reasoning, it may be needful to insist that no reference is made here to the old-time distinction between knowledge and belief, or reason and faith. There are many who claim to glory in a faith that is robust in direct proportion to the absence of evidence. If a statement be framed that antagonizes reason at every point, so much the more are these persons thankful for the grace of faith which enables them to believe the proposition, — or rather to pretend to do so, for believe it they cannot. It is true that schools of theology cover the face of the land that religion may be commended to human reason. Still the conviction is widely prevalent that religion is *wholly* a matter of feeling. Mr. Bain expresses this distinctly in his treatise on the Emotions and the Will, where he writes: “ Religious truth cannot, therefore, be imparted, as has sometimes been supposed, by an intellectual medium of verbal exposition and theological demonstration. *Being an affair of the feelings*, a method must be sought adapted to heighten the intensity of these.” Nothing would be a greater misunderstanding of all that has been said on the phase of the subject now before us than to conclude that appeal was made to some special faculty distinct from reason. In saying that the non-musical cannot judge music we do not affirm that the experience of music involves the exercise of a new cognitive faculty, — that there must be somewhere a musical *knowing* over and above the mathematical knowing. Music is an emotion, a feeling; if any have not this experience they cannot judge music. This is simply saying that what is non-existent cannot be experienced, estimated, dealt with, by reason. The musical feeling is not made to do in place of evidence, it *is* evidence. Feelings are facts, and as such have evidentiary value, a value to be determined by intellect alone. A proposition is not to be accepted because it makes us weep or laugh. Emotion is no higher light disclosing truths beyond the grasp of reason. It is singular that one fact respecting human knowledge and belief, though fundamental and perfectly plain, is rarely estimated at its full value. The fact is this: *all* our ultimate convictions, beliefs,

knowledge, are incomprehensible by reason. Not one of them can so much as begin to be understood. Any attempted *a priori* construction of them shows that they are full of inconceivabilities. Do we reject them in the name of reason? On the contrary, reason gives them complete assent, and will nowise free us from a thorough acceptance of them. Not a single sensation can be comprehended — no conceivable community of nature or action is possible between nerve activities and states of consciousness. Reason, however, acting in strict harmony with itself, compels us to believe that beside matter as we know it in the brain, there is thought — energy influenced by and influencing the nerve-mass. This, it need not be said, is utterly inconceivable; but this, it should be said, is afflicted with no greater inconceivability than meets us at every ultimate, whether physical, chemical, or biological. There is a further consideration of almost equal importance. By reason, and reason alone, we transcend the territory of sense experience, the territory of the so-called phenomenal, and affirm some noumenal reality appearing in the phenomenal, yet never fully revealed there, or capable of being so revealed to creatures of limited relations. We find Mr. Spencer proclaiming an unknowable reality, though for many he so far transfigures it as to destroy the reality. We find the concepts of modern science to consist wholly of predications of reality respecting matters ever beyond our senses. Is force an existence, a reality? Is the unknowable power actual? We never front it; in its effects alone do we know it. Is personality real? Do we believe in personality? Assuredly we do and must, unless content to remain forever in the midst of shifting feelings.

We are now to consider theism as defined, and inquire what facts in *experience* point to this position as one worthy of rational acceptance. The first fact is the fact of *existence*; our own and the not our own. Something — nay, a great deal — *is*. Comparatively few persons have *experienced* the fact of existence. This not because they have no ability to experience it, as the non-musical may not enter into music, but because familiarity has bred disregard, neglect, a certain taking-for-granted. So existence, as of the pebble, the grass, the animal, man, being commonplace, is without due weight *as a fact*. That existence shall be so experienced as to become a fact pointing toward theism we need to fill ourselves with the mystery of it. Front each commonest thing, each smallest particle, as inscrutable, unaccountable. Let it be that this, as to its elements, has had no commencement, *no source*. Attempt to realize the eternity of matter; that there never was a

time when material elements did not exist. They were *uncaused*. The entire force of this position depends upon the realization of it which each one may attain,—to find absolutely no point of origin for that which is lowest and least, in the sense of being non-sentient. Cast the mind backward and backward and backward still, beyond consciousness, beyond life, beyond all present forms of worlds. The resting-place must be soulless atoms, having no whence and *knowing* no whither. We cannot demonstrate that this was not the case. We cannot show that all that now is did not originate by way of evolution from these unintelligent, homogeneous masses. Nay, more, let it be that physical science establishes evolution and makes it clear; we have not then an account of existence which reason is able to accept. Behind the mechanical process we are forced to make our way to some other source of being than the mindless combinations of atoms. Here is the *feeling* of insufficient reason which is *the fact* to be estimated by our intelligence. When we front the blankness of purposeless atoms we feel the lack of adequate cause. This feeling is nowise overcome by any scientific exposition of a process through which all that now is has developed from these atoms. If everything has been exactly as physical science would assert respecting this process, so that each step was a necessity, we are as far as ever from finding an *adequate* cause in mindless atoms. This is not to say that science puts chance in place of intelligence. The oft-repeated illustration of the inability of shaken-up alphabets to produce Miltonic poems is pitifully worthless, and is certainly not to be adduced here. There is no chance. Science teaches everything but chance—speaks always of an invariable order, of a this way and a that, with no choice. The question is as to the *starting-point*. And the skeptic now appears with his law of parcimony, telling us to assume no more than the effect requires. If B can be shown to come from A, the work is done; the origin of A need not be investigated. Against this is the persistent feeling of inadequacy. Why A, since A is unintelligent, without purpose? But, it is said, the eternity of matter is not a thing to discuss; it is a fact. No person with any understanding of the doctrine of the persistence of force ever dreams of supposing that matter or force could be created. This is true. But what bearing has it on that feeling of inadequacy above disclosed? Here also is a fact, namely, that the origination of all present things from unoriginated, mindless atoms antagonizes a deep feeling of ours as to what reason must require. I return to the thought which introduced the present consideration. *Realize* the

mystery of existence; unless this can be done the feeling now referred to will never take its place as a fact demanding careful estimation from the intellect. Realize the mystery of existence, and it seems about impossible to take the scientific account of the world as complete. As a scientific account it is undoubtedly correct: as the account which reason shall accept in full for all claims, entirely inadequate. There is no reference here to the argument from design, either in its particular form as concerned with special adjustments to ends, or in its more comprehensive character as expressive of *general order* in all things. The weakness of teleological argument will be noticed later. The present reference is to make it plain that the feeling of inadequacy above mentioned is not connected with the matter of design in our own actions, or with the experience of design in nature. Here is existence; earth, water, air, sky; sun, moon, and their accompanying hosts. Put away all question of adaptation. Here are existences, whence came they? The fact for estimation is that the mystery is nowise diminished by tracing present forms to past forms, and these to others more remote. How did these *uralt*, yet inanimate, unconscious forms come to be? It avails not for science to reply that she has no answer, and never expects to have. It is exactly this silence that reason, under the feeling above described, refuses to put up with. No sincere man of science but has entered into the thick darkness that environs the commencement of being. No sincere man anywhere but has felt how awful is that gaze into the mindless masses from which come all things, and to which pass all things. One of the latest and most vigorous writers against theism¹ expresses himself in these words: "I am not ashamed to confess that with this virtual negation of God the universe to me has lost its soul of loveliness. When at times I think, as think at times I must, of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed which once was mine and the lonely mystery of existence as I now find it, at such times I shall ever feel it impossible to avoid the sharpest pang of which my nature is susceptible. I cannot but think that for me and for others who think as I do there is a dreadful truth in those words of Hamilton: Philosophy having become a meditation not merely of death but of annihilation, the precept 'Know thyself' has become transformed into the terrific oracle to Œdipus, 'Mayest thou ne'er know the truth of what thou art.'"

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¹ *Physicus: A Candid Examination of Theism.*

THE NECESSITY FOR MORAL AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

In a former number of this "Review,"¹ in a paper entitled "Literacy and Crime in Massachusetts," the increase of the defective and delinquent classes in a much greater ratio than the increase of population was conclusively shown.

"There are," observes Mr. Mill, "but two roads by which truth can be discovered: observation and reasoning." In the present instance they unite in leading us to the unwelcome conclusion that for a generation, at least, the decadence of public morality in Massachusetts has been constant and positive.

The question that forces itself upon all thinking men who have the welfare and reputation of the State at heart is, What is the probable cause of this decline in public morals?

In the paper referred to, I stated my belief to be that this increase of crime is due in a great degree to the neglect or abandonment of moral and industrial teaching in the family and in the school. A perfect system of public instruction must include moral, intellectual, physical, and industrial education, each part being essential to the perfect whole; and as its object is to prepare the pupil for "complete living," it follows that the only practical test of our educational work is in the character of its results in the individual, and collectively upon society.

Our Pilgrim and Puritan fathers had the intuition that a government by the people and for the people could neither be maintained nor perpetuated by any course of instruction which cultivated the intellect and neglected the moral and civic duties and industrial employments, — which, in other words, educated the head at the expense of the heart and the hands. Each individual in that primitive commonwealth felt his personal responsibility to God and to his neighbor. Personal success and aggrandizement were held secondary to the public welfare, and each member of the community felt conscientiously bound to do, and to be, his utmost as an important part of that whole which was but a sum of the parts. This was the altruistic period of our commonwealth; "and," remarks Mr. Lunt, "although there are inevitable points of difference between the condition of our ancestors and our own, no salutary advancement can be made in whatever constitutes the substantial welfare of life without the better personal qualities

¹ December, 1884.

which they exhibited, without the honest motives which prompted their conduct, without the bearing which they honored, and the virtues which they revered.”¹

It was the weight of the responsibility pressing upon these founders of a new Western empire that made them stern, unyielding, and exacting, but honest, fearless, and upright in the discharge of every duty, and enabled them to lay the foundation of a character which was the genesis of public morality and of true patriotism, not only in New England, but throughout the nation. In answer to the cavalier against the Puritans and Puritanism of New England, who claims that they were only remarkable for their religious bigotry and despotic intolerance, we remark that while moral perfection, inherent or acquired, is not claimed for them, yet, notwithstanding the vices of the time, which even the austerity of the Puritan character could not entirely resist, the outcome of their religious, moral, civic, and industrial training is alone to be considered, namely, a character whose virtues were as solid and enduring as its faults — resulting from isolation and contamination — were numerous and transitory: the tree is to be judged only by its fruits.

The lesson we derive from this cursory *résumé* of the origin of our typical New England character in the heroic and altruistic period of our early history is, that, while we can hardly dignify their natural and simple course of instruction — so crude in its details, but so perfect in its results — with the title of “system” excepting for convenience, it was an eminently practical course, which, combining the intellectual, moral, physical, and industrial elements of a perfect education, resulted in the complete adaptation of the individual to the necessities of his existence. It was a “system” in which the parents and the family coöperated with the teacher in each department of his instruction, and practically sustained him in his discipline and government. It was a “system” in which no one faculty was educated at the expense of, or to the exclusion of, another, and its product was a state thoroughly equipped for the battle of life and for complete living. It was a “system” in which the principles of religion, the cardinal virtues, and the moral and civic duties were thoroughly taught, the necessity of industrial education acknowledged, and its practice enforced.

As early as in 1642, we find the Court thus decreeing: “Taking into consideration the great neglect in many parents and masters,

¹ *Three Eras of New England*, p. 64.

in training up their children in learning and labor, and other employments which may be profitable to the Commonwealth, do hereupon order and decree, . . . and for this end they (the officers) shall have power to take account from time to time of their parents and masters, and of their children, concerning their calling and instruction of their children."¹ The Court also provided for the industrial training of the "children of such as shall not be able or fit to employ and bring them up." Two hundred and twenty-five years later, we find this paternal legislation copied by the English Parliament, with the result, in a few years, of a very great decrease in juvenile crime.

Compared with this high but rude standard, directly evolved from the necessitous circumstances of the early settlers of New England, it will be seen at once how lamentably deficient our modern systems of public instruction are, in the comprehension of the true function of education; as remarks Mr. Spencer: "To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of any educational course is to judge in what degree it discharges such function."² It is true that our circumstances have greatly changed; it is equally true that our educational needs remain substantially the same, and while we cannot hope to restore the Puritan methods in their primitive simplicity and effective adaptation of means to the end required (as has been ably advocated by Mr. Hale in his paper entitled "Half Time in Schools"), owing to our greatly altered social conditions and to the almost complete disappearance of the family and family influence in a large proportion of the *clientèle* of our public school system in the large centres of population, we can incorporate into our present system its essentially practical features; so that, instead of "mumbling little else but dead formulas," we may effectively prepare children for the ordinary activities and exigencies of life.

The distinguishing mark of this early Massachusetts school was its religious and moral instruction. Its only text-book was the Bible. And tracing the progress of the decline of this instruction, we find that when in after years it became less prominent in the school, it was continued in the family; the church, however, retaining its hold, and maintaining a constant surveillance, until the schools became secular by law, and then, casting out religion, we cast out morals.

And here, it appears to me, in arbitrarily separating religious

¹ *Records of Mass.*, ii. 8.

² *Education*, p. 3.

instruction from secular instruction, we have, in yielding to the popular sectarian clamor, committed the well-nigh fatal error of classing the positive instruction in morals as sectarian instruction; an error which has resulted in the gradual decline of moral teaching as an important part in the curriculum of the common school.

"In the effort to avoid sectarianism," says one, "the secularization of the common schools in the United States has been carried to the extreme."¹

"Society, in its protest against bigoted ecclesiasticism and clerical control in education," remarks another, "rushes to the other extreme, non-religion; all agree that sound morality must be made the very sub-basis of an educational system."²

Jean Paul asserts that moral development is the only education, as the intellectual is instruction; and Mr. Spencer declares this neglect of moral education to be the most glaring defect in our programmes of education, and remarks that this most pressing desideratum "has not been even recognized as a desideratum."

That this error and misfortune of ours is primarily owing to the absence among us of a definite idea of the province of morals and moral teaching, there is little doubt; and the poverty of the teaching of practical morals in the majority of our public schools can be best shown by asking any class of children of reasonable age the question, In what does public morality consist; and what duties does it demand? If the question were repeated to the parents of these children, no two of the answers obtained would agree in precision of statement or definiteness of ideas, and the majority would confound moral instruction with sectarian religious instruction as one and the same thing; while to declare that morals are in any degree independent of religions would be to that majority as startling a proposition as to declare the converse, that religions are independent of morals — a mental condition which, of itself, indicates the necessity of moral teaching. It is the common belief that morals are in some way sectarian, notwithstanding the very obvious fact that thousands of our fellow-citizens, although unable precisely to define the province of morals, or to catalogue the moral virtues, are temperate, honest, industrious, just, charitable, virtuous, and loyal to society and the government, but at the same time are members of no church or sect, and positively unreligious.

¹ Kiddle & Schems' *Manual of Theory and Practice of Teaching*. New York, 1881.

² Baldwin's *Art of School Management*. New York, 1881.

An old writer defines morality as the science of duty ; the science which teaches the individual his duty to himself and others, and the reason for it.

"It may be said," suggests another, "that moral education deals with the relations which mankind sustain to each other, and religious education with those which man, as a spiritual being, sustains to his Creator." In the history of our own State we find that when religious instruction was abandoned by the state it was continued by the church and the family ; when abandoned by the family, it was continued by the church ; but, unfortunately, the gradual disintegration and destruction of the family has, naturally enough, resulted in the decline of the demand for moral instruction by the church, and hence the majority of the children of Massachusetts are without that education which contributes in a greater degree than any other to the welfare of the individual and of society.

The intensely practical side of this education must not be overlooked ; it comprehends the duties and responsibilities of the individual to himself and to society, — the preservation of health, temperance, honor, honesty ; the knowledge of our rights and their equality, of the reciprocal duties, of the duties of the citizen to the state, — obedience to law, justice, chastity, respect for the liberty and reputation of others, for contracts and property ; and it properly defines lying and calumny, etc. It is to the neglect or absence of this teaching in the modern family, the frequent scornful rejection of it when offered by the church, and the general abandonment and neglect of positive instruction in our common schools, to which I attribute the present decadence of public morality, and the gradual weakening of the New England character in this commonwealth. It is obvious that no public system can supply the place of such family instruction in morals as our fathers had ; domestic education, says Dr. Lieber, can never be supplanted by any general school system. It is, however, apparent that the increasing disregard and neglect of proper instruction by parents and guardians, "the present decay of faith in God and the worth of life that is the unfailing mark of weakening character and sinking morality," is due in a great measure to the disruption and rapid disintegration of the family, now going on in all our large manufacturing-towns, cities, and large centres of population, consequent on poverty, the fixed condition of the laboring-class, and the entire absence of the altruistic element in our organized industries, making it imperative that society shall in

some way protect its purity and life. In our opinion it can be best done by making morals — the science of our duty to ourselves, to others, and to government — an important part of the positive instruction in our common schools.

We perfectly recognize the fact that virtuous habits are insensibly acquired in the ordinary life and discipline of the school; and the more conscientious the teacher, the greater the moral results; but moral education, without which all other is impotent and valueless, has no definite place in the curriculum, and the instruction casually given, or the little, if any, required by the committees, is not at all commensurate with its high importance; it is not demanded by the parents, and the statute (Mass. chap. 44, sec. 15) which so emphatically requires it is practically obsolete.

The reputation of the modern teacher depends alone upon his success in cultivating the intellect — upon the percentage of his pupils — with little or no regard to his ability as a true educator. A recent writer observes: "It is curious to contrast the care and industry with which men cultivate the intellect with their carelessness in the cultivation of moral perfection. No one supposes that intellectual vigor and keenness and delicacy of discrimination will come of themselves, and without discipline and painstaking; but many suppose that the corresponding qualities of the moral life may be left to take their chance."

In the very gradual awakening upon this subject, the timidity with which our public school system is approached is remarkable; it has been raised by fulsome public adulation to such a high position, and surrounded by such a halo of false sentiment, that we enter its presence with hushed voices and faltering steps, forgetting that instead of being our master it is our servant. The product of that system is at present an educational monstrosity; an individual, an egoist, whose intellect is cultivated at the expense of every other faculty and in disregard of the moral education and industrial training absolutely necessary to an honest life and character.

"That which our school courses leave almost entirely out," says Herbert Spencer, "we thus find to be that which most nearly concerns the business of life;" and under our high-pressure system we are putting edge tools into the hands of children without instruction as to their use or purpose, and launching them out upon society conscious only of their *rights*, but not of their *duties*; and entirely unprepared to contribute to the working force of the

world, to their own support, or to withstand temptation. As far as school instruction has gone, they are ignorant that society or the civil government has any claim upon them that they are at all bound to recognize or acknowledge.

This subjective tendency of our systems of instruction is now apparent to all close observers ; and among those who have spoken of it Mr. Mather, in his report on "Technical Education in the United States," declares,¹ "We must take warning from America ; our national system of elementary instruction must not drift to the literary side alone, to the degree that it has done of late in that country."

"Of the knowledge now commonly imparted in educational courses, very little is of any service in guiding man in his conduct as a citizen," says Mr. Spencer.

To ascertain the evil results of this one-sided education we have not to go far ; the decline in public morality in Massachusetts since the abandonment of positive moral and religious instruction in our schools is very marked : juvenile crime has greatly increased.

The Prison Commissioners' Report for the year ending September 30, 1880, shows that there were for that year 17,053 commitments to the prisons of Massachusetts, on sentences, and the Board, from actual statistics covering several thousand cases, estimate that for each one hundred convicts there are forty-five children under fifteen years of age !²

We learn further, that about forty per cent. of the whole number of county prisoners are not above twenty-five years, and about twenty-five per cent. not above twenty-one years old.³

The Commissioners of Prisons of our State make the following statement :—

"There were in the houses of correction on the 30th of September, 1881, 561 male prisoners having sentences of one year or more ; eighty per cent. of these were not above thirty years of age, 140 being between twenty-five and thirty, 180 from twenty-one to twenty-five, and 129 twenty years old or less."⁴

In the report on the State Prison for the same year, we find that of the whole number committed to that prison in twenty-five

¹ Report Royal Commission on Technical Instruction.

² Thirteenth Annual Report B. C. of Prisons, p. 129.

³ W. E. Spalding, Sec'y Mass. B. C. of Prisons, in *Zion's Herald*, May 17, 1881.

⁴ Coms. of Prisons Rept., 1882.

years, 16+ per cent. were from fifteen to twenty years of age; and in the year 1881, twenty-two per cent., and of the whole number then in prison 34+ per cent., were under twenty-five years.

Upon these and similar facts the Commissioners remark: "The importance of a common school education has not been overestimated; but, with the prisons of Massachusetts filled with men and women the great majority of whom can read and write, it is easy to see that something more than these acquirements is necessary to prevent crime, and to reform criminals. The school therefore should have a broader outlook."

From the unusually accurate statistics of our State, we gather the unwelcome fact, mentioned in a former paper, that our native criminal population (that is, those born in this country of any parentage, but reared under our institutions) has more than doubled in the last thirty years, notwithstanding our vaunted system of public instruction, our churches, our superior schools, our charitable institutions, and all the educational efforts and appliances in use in our modern civilization.

As we have seen, or may see, our statistics also show that the great majority of these prisoners had received a common school education, and could read and write, but before imprisonment were idle, indolent, and without any visible means of support; hence the belief that our system of public instruction tends to the gradual and final extinction of crime, which has by reason of its reiteration and familiarity been accepted as an axiom, is now, by our closer observation and more mature experience and the "inexorable logic" of statistics, proven to be false.

Intelligence alone does not prevent crime; and in this particular our experience is by no means singular. It is stated that there is not an individual of the two millions of Würtemberg, or of the three millions of Saxony, above the age of ten years unable to read and write, but crime still exists. In France, of 100 criminals 61 were illiterate, 37 literate, and 2 had received a superior education; fifty years later 31 were illiterate, 65 literate, and 4 had received a superior education; the report to the International Penitentiary Congress states: "There is reason to believe that in France as in many other countries the insufficiency of our moral education, the general defect of intellectual culture, and the want of an industrial calling leave an open road to crimes and misdemeanors."

In Baden, it is stated that only four per cent. of the state prisoners are unable to read, but fifty per cent. have not learned a trade.

In short, the reports from all the countries represented agree in attributing the cause and increase of crime to the neglect of religious and moral education and industrial training. It may be, then, not a rash or unwarranted statement to make, that intellectual culture, without moral education, rather increases our ability to escape the consequences of criminal acts, but does not prevent their commitment. Professor Sewall very sensibly says: "Indeed, it may be a question whether the effect of mere increased intelligence, without accompanying moral principles, may not be either to invent new forms of dishonesty and vicious practice, or to cover up and ingeniously shield from penalty those crimes which with the more ignorant are not more prevalent, but are only not so cunningly concealed."¹

It is sometimes objected, and not without reason, that statistics are misleading; their value, of course, depends upon their foundation and method of collection, and upon proper use. The statistics of Massachusetts are the best our country affords, and are generally accepted and relied upon as authoritative; but all statistics, even when collected under the most perfect laws and methods, have their limitations; as, obviously, we cannot determine by them the exact degree of immorality, or misery, or vice, existing in the community at any given time, as they cannot reach behind the records of crime.

And all statistics relating to crime, however well founded and collated, must of necessity fail to indicate the full extent of evil, as it is only when the common law is broken that secret vice breaks into crime and we become statistically cognizant of it.² If statistics are objected to in this instance, however generally accepted in others, we can safely rely upon the common experience, knowledge, and observation of every thinking member of the community, and especially of parents and guardians of the young, for evidence of our decline in morality; and it may then be easier, after listening to that experience, to accept the conclusion that the time has arrived when the private effort of the family (where it exists) for moral education shall be supported, encouraged, and supplemented, but not supplanted, by public effort in that direction. It is not necessary to dwell upon the absolute

¹ *The New Ethics*, p. 40.

² "Au-dessous des crimes et des délits enregistrés par la statistique, entrevoir, deviner les demi-crimes, les demi-délits, les infractions à l'usage et les violations impunies de la loi, qui pullulent dans les nations en fermentation." — M. Tarde, in *Revue Philosophique*, February, 1886.

necessity of this education to good being and good living. The Mohammedan and the Christian both agree in their estimate of the moral code which is older than either and founded on the Decalogue. To true civilization, the double growth, the moral and intellectual, is indispensable; this double movement, Mr. Buckle asserts, is "essential to the very idea of civilization, and includes the entire theory of mental progress."

We have now come to the practical question, How are morals to be taught in our public schools? I answer that as they are secular, and relate to the practical duties and obligations of life, they can be taught, as other sciences more or less exact are taught, by specially prepared text-books and oral teaching, adapted to the different ages.

Germany has long since answered the question. "*La fin de l'instruction primaire est l'éducation morale et religieuse de la nation par le Christianisme*," says M. Rendu, in his report upon primary instruction in that country. The schools are jointly under the charge of the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs and the Minister of Public Instruction. The schools are Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, in which pupils of different denominations receive the same secular, but different religious, instruction. In the elementary schools, taking pupils from six to fourteen, religion and morals stand first in the curriculum.

The Prussian teachers are, by law, instructed in morals and religion in seminaries for three years.

When, a few years ago, the schools of France were made secular by law, the French educators, with greater quickness of perception than we have shown of the necessity of the moral education which the church had conducted, at once entered the field with various text-books to supply the anticipated needs of the new system.

Among the first of these was the little text-book of Paul Bert, Gambetta's Minister of Public Instruction, entitled "*L'Instruction Civique à l'École*," which was furnished gratuitously to its schools by the city of Paris, and adopted by Lyons, Bordeaux, and Marseilles, and honored by a gold medal in 1882.

He says in his preface: "The proposition of law upon which I had the honor to make a report to the last Chamber, the 6th of December, 1879, and which has become the law of the State (28th March, 1882), declares in its article third, that 'the instruction in the primary schools includes *l'instruction morale et civique*.'

"To the *instruction morale* is joined, in the primary school,

the *instruction civique*, which is also an innovation, that timorous spirits consider as revolutionary, . . . and that is nearly equal in importance to the first."

Although by common report Paul Bert is an atheist, he recognizes the necessity of moral education, not only in the law of 1882, of which he was the author, but also in his treatise and text-book.

Soon after this appeared "*Devoirs et Droits de l'Homme*," by Henri Marion, Professor of Philosophy in the Lycée Henri IV., and which was adopted by the Minister of Public Instruction as a classic, and apparently intended for secondary schools. It is a comprehensive survey of all the duties and rights of man, and treats of practical morality very fully.

Later still, in 1884, appeared the "*Notions d'Éducation Civique*," of Mme. Henriette Massy, in four parts: "*Civic Instruction*," "*Elements of Usual Rights*," "*Political Economy*," and "*Morals*," the latter subject occupying forty of the two hundred pages of the text-book.

Mme. Henri Gréville has also added to the list a text-book for young girls, entitled "*Instruction Morale et Civique*."

I cannot complete the list, and will mention but two others: "*L'Instruction Morale à l'École (cours moyen et supérieur) à l'usage des deux sexes*," of M. Burdeau, and the "*Éléments d'Instruction Morale et Civique*," by Gabriel Compayré, a deputy. I have spoken thus fully of these books, because the question is frequently asked by instructors, How is it possible to teach morals by a text-book? I suggest to such inquirers and doubters an examination of these books, especially that of Henri Marion, for a complete answer to that question.

The French law of 1880 provided for the establishment of institutions for the secondary education of girls, to be founded by the State. The first article in the curriculum is "*Morals*." It is also provided by law that religious instruction shall be given, out of school-hours, at the request of parents, by different ministers appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction.

It is, I think, now apparent that we are behind Germany and France, not only in technical instruction, but in moral education; and to these two countries Austria and England can be added.

Among the objections to teaching morals in our public schools is the "sectarian" objection; we do not well see how it can be maintained, as it is not proposed nor is it in the least degree necessary to enter the domain of polemics, for the text-books should as in France carefully exclude controversial subjects, and may be

so prepared as to be acceptable to all Christian denominations, as well as to Jews and pagans, if such there be.

The objection of the practical instructor, who now labors under the perplexities, annoyances, and the bewildering confusion of an absurdly unpractical curriculum, is more reasonable, but can be easily overcome by the substitution of a more practical system of public instruction, now imperatively demanded by our necessities.

I have purposely devoted the greater part of the space allowed to me to the foundation of all education, as it is the most neglected and the least considered in the schools of our State. Technical education holds the second place in the perfect curriculum. The conviction is growing and becoming firmly established, that technical education will give to the graduates of our public schools, in place of their present impotency, a readiness and aptitude in the use of their hands, and the consequent power of self-help; will greatly develop the faculty of observation, increase their knowledge of things and processes, create industrial habits, develop mechanical faculties, ennoble manual labor, and thus destroy or diminish a great factor in the increase of crime in our commonwealth. The result of this conviction is a greatly increased interest in the subject of technical instruction, experimental beginnings, and the multiplying of industrial or technical schools in every part of our land.

Mr. Wright, in a paper on the "Working-Girls of Boston," declares that "one great lack in the lower grades of industry is the want of a thorough training in technical knowledge, and of the capacity for close application." As to the ability of women to earn a maintenance, if properly instructed, he says, "There seems to be no limit to the industrial opportunities of women."

The impotent results of our systems of public instruction have called down the criticism of foreign observers.

In the report of the Royal Commissioners of Technical Instruction, Mr. Mather says:—

"The effect of the public schools, colleges, and universities, supported by taxation of the people, is more marked in the general education in the literary branches than in any special acquaintance with natural science, and in this direction their influence is not altogether a benefit. Too large a class of young people in America of both sexes are seeking pursuits not requiring manual labor. Their education, as given at present in the high schools and colleges, tends rather to unfit them for the active industries of life, in a country where the vast resources of nature are waiting for willing and trained hands to utilize them." (Page 47.)

The truth thus expressed obtains a singular but melancholy confirmation in the report of our own Prison Commissioners, who affirm that "*one half of the advantage of prison life to youthful convicts is the acquirement of the habit of industrious labor.*"

The increase in technical schools for both sexes abroad is remarkable; women's trade and professional schools are numerous in Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Italy, as well as in other countries. Technical instruction there has long since ceased to be an experiment; it has been found to help the ordinary school instruction by illustration; to form the habit of thought, to plant ambition, develop ingenuity, and increase the integrity and dignity of the individual. For the state it has introduced and organized new industries, decreased juvenile crime, increased the number of "self-governing beings," and secured, prospectively, its permanent prosperity.

As the great problem before us is how to increase public morality, augment our working force, and decrease idleness, vagabondage, and crime, it is worth while to bear in mind that all observers agree in the opinion, and such statistics as are accessible confirm it, that industrial education stops crime at its very source.

Mr. Buxton, chairman of the board of education in London, observes (1882):—

"Since 1870, 7,566 children, and during the past three years 2,231 children, have been sent to industrial schools. The convictions for juvenile crime are now only one half what they were in 1870."

Sufficient evidence has, perhaps, been produced to suggest the probability, if not to establish the fact, that the public indifference to moral education, and the neglect of industrial and technical training in our public schools, are great factors in the increase of crime.

It is to be hoped that the rapidly forming public opinion in favor of industrial education which will soon demand recognition by the State, in spite of the opposition of school boards and town committees, will also include in its demand that the training in morals shall be no longer a "thing of doubts and guesses and only half admitted conclusions," but shall take the first and highest place in the school curriculum, which its practical importance and the public welfare peremptorily require.

George R. Stetson.

THE SPIRITUAL ELEMENT IN MODERN LITERATURE.

THE first impression which a mind fresh to the study of literature would receive from an acquaintance with modern books would be an impression of complexity; such a student would be struck with the extraordinary variety and range of conceptions, ideals, and sentiments which have found literary expression during the present century. If he came upon modern books from the study of the ancient literatures, or even from the literature produced by the centuries immediately preceding our own, he would feel at first as if the luminous order of the older art had given place to a chaos of individualism. Modern books portray almost every phase of human experience, from the highest spiritual problems in Browning's verse to the lowest aspects of animalism in Zola's prose. This complexity of purpose and form in the literature of recent times is due to a variety of causes, chief among which is the presence, in altogether new force, of the spiritual element. It is less obtrusive and far more subtle in its influence than either the scientific or the democratic tendency, and it is the more difficult of detection because it goes to the very heart of modern life, and returns, as the mist of the sea invisibly borne to the heart of the continent returns, in a universal movement of production. Special influences, moving to well-defined ends, are readily seen and easily traced, but changes in the fundamental conceptions of life and art are so diffused, so gradual in their operation, that they are likely to escape observation. The great laws of literary development, as Taine and other eminent students of literature have traced them, become evident enough after a little study; they lie on the surface. But there are deeper and more obscure modifications of thought and form than those which can be laid bare by any study of race or age or environment; modifications and changes in the very structure of thought, which give a new direction to feeling and a new color to sentiment; which enlarge the whole intellectual life by a process of expansion as unconscious and as invisible as the process of fertilization by which the soil receives into itself the luminous life of the sky. Has it not been a strange oversight in the study of literature, which has become an almost universal passion in our time, that while the river courses and the mountain ranges have been traced and located with precision, observers have taken little thought of those

over-hanging heavens which are as much a part of every landscape as running stream and everlasting hill? Without the upper firmament the lower firmament would be but half a world; a world of completed structure and form, but without light or color or life. This upper sky of spiritual truth, ideal, and relationship is too often left out of account in our surveys of the field of literature; and yet it is this spiritual element which adds immeasurably to the complexity and variety no less than to the wealth and power of modern books.

The most obvious characteristics of Greek literature are repose, order, harmony, and moderation. These are the elements of a great plastic art; an art that presents noble actions in that supreme moment when every actor becomes the unconscious idealization of his own thought and the whole scene is an instantaneous revelation of beauty. It is this brief moment of idealization, this unconscious pause which marks the climax of noble action, that we find in Greek art of the best period, and this alone. The Greek touched nothing with chisel or stylus which did not present to him a clear, distinct, and well-defined outline; with half lights, with shadows, with the mystery and wonder of thought or feeling which could not be put into some form of definite expression, he would have nothing to do, either in sculpture, architecture, or literature. The world in which he lived and worked lay before him forever radiant with the light of clear intelligence; no dusky arches sprang from the walls of his temples, no inexpressible emotion played on the features of his statues, no mysterious impulses and visions lured the thought into shadowy solitudes in his books. In all the arts which he practiced there is the same plastic instinct, revealing itself in outlines whose delicacy and beauty are to the men of our time the dream of a lost world.

But the Greek paid a great price for the harmony and order of his art; he made his problem clear by striking the unknown quantities out of it; he was not without glimpses of a spiritual world, but he refused to consider or interpret it. With all its radiant loveliness Greek art is of the earth; it is forever lost to us, not because skill has forsaken us or the instinct for beauty died out in our souls, but because we can never return to the attitude in which men stood when they created it. It is true, as we are constantly reminded, that we can never match it with a kindred perfection; it is also true, and true in the deepest sense, that we have outgrown it. It no more represents our thought, our ideal, our faith, than the images of the gods which it has preserved for us

represent our conception of the unseen and eternal Spirit. The Greek moved through a single world, and his thought, by virtue of self-imposed limitations, was simple, clear, orderly, and harmonious; we live, move, and have our being in two worlds, and our perpetual struggle is to bring them into harmony; hence the complexity, variety, and apparent confusion of our life and our art. We have lost the antique simplicity, definiteness, and harmony, but we have gained the inexhaustible inspirations and resources of the spiritual life.

What, then, is the spiritual element in literature, and how does it reveal itself? The spiritual element is the perception of a relationship between humanity and a divine nature outside of and above it, of actual fellowship between men and this divine nature, and of obligations, resources and consolations growing out of that fellowship; in brief, of a complete organized life of the soul in large measure independent of its material surroundings, and in which is to be found the fullness and completeness of life. In the *Iliad*, for instance, though the gods hover over the plains of Troy they are as material as the men who struggle beneath them, and the poem finds its motive and its consummation within the limits of purely human activity. There is not a breath from Olympus which inspires any hero with an unselfish or ideal purpose; there is no suggestion anywhere that the long struggle is to be decided by any but material forces, or that victory is to bring anything greater than a material reward. In Browning's "Paracelsus," on the other hand, or in Goethe's "Faust," both representative modern poems, the story has a spiritual motive; there is a recognition of spiritual relationships that rest upon spiritual need and fellowship, there is clear, definite movement to a spiritual end. And all through the literature of this century we find such relationships, purposes, and ideals. The books of pure literature are few which do not bring into the foreground the thoughts of God, of immortality, and of the possible greatness of human life reached by the power and through the consciousness of these fundamental conceptions. The spiritual world is the background of almost all modern poetry, from those early songs of Longfellow which have become the familiar psalms of universal experience to such noble interpretations of human life from the spiritual side as Tennyson's "In Memoriam." In the poetry which does not give this thought prominence it is still present in ever recurring suggestion and illustration; we feel its presence as we feel the presence of the sky when we look into the heart of the summer flowers and know that without it they could not have been.

Almost without exception the names of the poets of this century who have reached the maturity of their powers and turned the passing attention of men into lasting fame suggest, by a law of common association, some human relationship lifted into the light of a spiritual significance, some interpretation of life from the spiritual side. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, the Brownings, Tennyson, the entire company of American poets, with one or two exceptions, have carried this light in their hands in all their explorations of nature and life, and it is this interpenetration of supernal radiance which gives their best work its beauty and its truth. It is not too much to say that it is the presence and power of this spiritual element which differentiates our century from all preceding ages most decisively.

All ages have had spiritual intuitions and have not lacked expression of spiritual conceptions in literature. The Greeks had their mysteries, in which they endeavored to represent to themselves truths as high and spiritual as that of immortality; they had their great thinkers, whose speculations took account of these things, and in whose minds, preëminently in the mind of Plato, there lay a spiritual idea as the germ and model of the universe. But these thoughts were the thoughts of a few; they were not in the air, as we say; they were not diffused; we find only hints and indistinct traces of their presence in the mind of the people. They do not, as in our day, enter into all thought; they are not the background of all life.

Place the great books of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries side by side, and a single glance makes clear the difference in spirit and attitude which exists between the foremost minds of the two epochs. How far Swift, Steele, Addison, Goldsmith, Johnson, and Cowper, in depth of sentiment and grasp of life, fall below Carlyle, Emerson, Newman, Coleridge, Maurice, Martineau and Kingsley! In poetry and in criticism the writers of our time have touched the deepest things with a vigor and an insight of which the literature of the last century affords hardly a suggestion. The strength of the men of the eighteenth century lay largely in their mastery of the art of clear, orderly, and finely proportioned style, and in their weighty or graceful moralizations on the society in which they lived; the strength of the great writers of the nineteenth century reveals itself most clearly in their vivid and controlling conception of nature and life as symbols of an invisible and spiritual order of existence.

The sixteenth century was a great religious age. Its faith

was high, its feeling intense, its devotion to religious principles at times fanatical. The impetuous current of its life flows through its literature and gives it unequaled freshness and variety; but in which of its writers shall we look for an adequate representation of life as a possible fellowship with the Divine Spirit, as everywhere and always under the control of spiritual laws? Not certainly in Shakespeare; for it is on the boundaries of the invisible world of spiritual truth that his wonderful vision fails and the genius which would otherwise have been universal pauses and retreats, baffled and empty-handed. With characteristic insight Emerson says: "Shakespeare, Homer, Dante, Chaucer, saw the splendor of meaning that plays over the visible world; knew that a tree has another use than for apples, and corn another than for meal, and the ball of the earth another than for tillage and roads; that these things bore a second and finer harvest to the mind, being emblems of its thoughts, and conveying in all their natural history a certain mute commentary on human life." Shakespeare employed them as colors to compose his picture. He rested in their beauty and never took the step which seemed inevitable to such genius, namely, to explore the virtue which resides in these symbols and imparts this power.

If Shakespeare failed to penetrate this deeper world, certainly none of the group of dramatists of whom he was the master spirit discerned it. We must not forget the ethereal genius of Spenser, whom Lamb described as the poet's poet. Of all the nobly endowed men of his time he was the most spiritual. One feels in him that marvelous identification of the saint and the artist which gives the work of Fra Angelico a kind of spiritual radiance. Surely earth and heaven are not far asunder in such verse as this:—

"And is there care in Heaven? and is there love?
In heavenly spirits to these creatures base,
That may compassion of their evils move?
There is: else much more wretched were the case
Of men than beasts: but oh, the exceeding grace
Of highest God, that loves his creatures so,
And all his works with mercy doth embrace,
That blessed angels He sends to and fro,
To serve to wicked man, to serve his wicked foe."

But the world of the "Faery Queene" was not the world of Shakespeare, and Marlowe, and Dekker; it was an ideal world, created by the imagination as a possible reconciliation between the real and the ideal. The supernal light does not shine on human habi-

tations, it lends its radiance to one of those visions of the imagination with which humanity nourishes and sustains its secret hopes. There was a confession of weakness in Spenser's retreat from the real world about him which makes it clear that he could not trace a harmonious purpose between the spiritual and the material life, and that in order to find the harmony which he believed existed he fashioned a world of his own. The deepest insight always discovers, as Goethe saw clearly, that the ideal cannot exist save in the real.

In the seventeenth century we shall still look in vain for a representation of life as a possible fellowship with the Divine Spirit, and as everywhere under the control of spiritual laws and forces. We shall not find it even in Milton, the sonorous roll of whose verse recalls the imperial sovereignty of law rather than the pervasive and unbroken interplay of spiritual influences upon human life; the awful rule of the God of the Hebrew rather than the all-embracing and sustaining companionship of the Divine Spirit. Nor shall we find it in Dryden, the second greatest poetic mind of the seventeenth century.

Nor shall we discover these spiritual intuitions and perceptions in the poets of the eighteenth century. Cowper's gentle, clouded faith was a personal hope held with despairing resolution rather than a revelation of spiritual truth. Johnson's religion was honest, narrow, and dogmatic; a conformity to religious usage made tender by sentiment, and venerable by history. Burns, the truest singer of them all, borrowed few notes from that heaven into which his songs ought to have risen by divine right of genius.

What was vague, uncertain, and individual in other centuries, in our century has become definite, decisive, and well-nigh universal. We have no monopoly of the spiritual life, and every great writer is by no means an interpreter of spiritual truth; but the spiritual experience of the race has brought the spiritual perceptions in this century to a far more fruitful and constant discovery of spiritual truth, and has suffused the horizon of thought with the glow of spiritual aspirations and ideals. It must be borne in mind that there is a fundamental difference between the morality which other ages have described and illustrated even more effectively than our own, and this spiritual element. Morality is based upon the recognition of the sovereignty of moral law, and received its noblest expression as long ago as those remote ages in which the Hebrew Scriptures were written, or as that wonderful period of Greek development when Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides

each disclosed, according to the method of his genius, the play and supremacy of that law. In one form or another this law has never ceased to be proclaimed. Shakespeare taught it as no modern writer has been able to teach it; and George Eliot, in whose latest work the presence of the spiritual element can scarcely be detected, has been its eloquent and convincing exponent. But spirituality is something altogether different; something higher, more subtle, pervasive and vital. Morality is obedience to law; spirituality is an intuitive perception of spiritual truth, a personal consciousness and reception of that truth, and a conception of life which accepts it as controlled and governed by spiritual forces. Morality recognizes the law written in our own natures; spirituality is personal fellowship and communion with an invisible spiritual world.

Many causes have combined to develop the spiritual perceptions in recent years. The stream of modern civilization shows two great currents; one having origin among the Greeks, the other among the Hebrews. These two tendencies are now in process of assimilation, but are still in some measure divergent and at times antagonistic. We have the Greek spirit almost entirely unmodified by the Hebrew spirit in such writers as Walter Savage Landor, and the Hebrew spirit almost entirely unmodified by the Greek spirit in such writers as Carlyle. It is the struggle between these two tendencies — the one artistic, plastic, and liberalizing; the other moral, intense, and conservative — which introduces an element of confusion into the literature of our century. The Greeks had their consistent thought of the universe, and their unbroken effort to express that thought in art. The Hebrews, on their side, had their one distinct and commanding thought of the universe, and the unique characteristic of their literature is the marvelous power with which that thought was developed, extended, and made controlling through their long and varied history. Each of the two races which have given modern civilization its strongest impulses wrought out a single thought with a common effort not the less definite and inevitable because it was unconscious. We who have received both these great streams of tendency into our lives are swept, first by one and then by the other, to such an extent that literary epochs and schools of writers may be characterized and described as they embody and express clearly and decisively one or the other of these great conceptions of life; the thought of conduct finding its expression in the illustration of the law of righteousness, and the thought of beauty blossoming out the world

over in the order, the genius, and the loveliness of art. The writers of the "art school," as it is sometimes called,—Swinnburne, Rossetti, Morris, and their compeers,—represent a drift and tendency as real as any other in this age, though not so central nor at bottom so important. They are not solitary voices, nor are they alien spirits in our literary development; they express a real hunger for beauty, and are the leaders of a real movement toward its conquest.

The reaction against Puritanism, against the exclusive rule of the Hebrew spirit, is still incomplete. It is not a reaction toward "worldliness," conformity to lower and more material standards; it is a reaction from the partial to the whole; from the rigid and arrested movement of mind to its free, healthful, and complete activity; from the endeavor to live by vision of a single side of life to the endeavor to live by vision of a complete life. Matthew Arnold has said Puritanism locked the English mind in a dungeon; a more exact statement would be that it led the English people through a deep defile in the mountains from which only a single star was visible, the polar star of righteousness. That star is not less visible to us than to the Puritans, but it is no longer solitary; a whole heaven of moving constellations has swept into our vision. We see the star of righteousness as clearly as ever the Puritan saw it, but it has become the centre of a universe that shines out in a divine revelation of beauty around it. The Hebrew tendency is being supplemented by the Greek tendency, but neither diverted nor impaired by the process. The note of unrest in the verse of the poets of the "art school," and of Arnold and Clough, is the expression of this lack of harmony in the age. It is the recovery of that harmony which these poets have striven after. They bring us face to face with the great problem which confronts us: the harmonizing of beauty and liberty with the order, the discipline, and the noble severity of the moral law. Two worlds lie in our vision, and art cannot turn its face from either. Milton has given us an earthly and Dante a heavenly paradise, the masters have left us an imperishable heritage in the immortal faces on the walls of Italian palaces and churches, but Christianity has yet to find its highest expression in art.

It is not the revival of the Greek spirit alone which has produced a reaction against the exclusive rule of the Hebrew spirit; it is the development of the spiritual side of Christianity. The Christian literature of the Middle Ages, great as is its literary value, and noble as is its literary quality, is thoroughly inadequate

as an expression of the Christian thought of to-day. So long as the world stands men will read Dante's great poem with an ever-renewed wonder at the greatness and wealth of its thought and imagery, but it will never again express or represent the Christian faith of the world. The spiritual principle which was in Christianity from the beginning, always striving for expression and gaining so slowly over the natural materialism of humanity, has led the thoughts of men far beyond any such conception of Paradise or Purgatory or Hades as that which lay in the thought of the great Florentine poet. This inevitable spiritual progression is at last the test of every form of religious faith; sooner or later the material facts lose the exaggerated value attached to them at first, and it is felt more and more that the interior truth is that which gives final authority. This process of spiritualization is now going on the world over, and the result is a decay of dogmatism, a throwing off of conventional forms, symbols, and statements, and the diffusion of a free, vital spirit which takes on many forms of expression and refuses to be wholly contented in any of them. It is just here that the spiritual tendency strikes hands with the spirit of art, which is always striving to free itself from exaggerated, crude, or commonplace forms of expression. It is of the very life of art that it should relieve itself of all excrescences, subdue all exaggerations, and shine out through its symbol with that beautiful unconsciousness which is one of the characteristics of the best Greek sculpture. This is equally true of the spiritual expression of a truth which has been only dogmatically stated. The spiritual instinct rebels against any statement that shall not be like the parables of Christ, perfect in its simplicity, universal in its application, and entering by virtue of its naturalness into the thought and experience of every man. Compare any recent poem which, like "*In Memoriam*," sets forth some great Christian truth, with such a poem as the "*Paradise Lost*," and one is conscious of an immense uplifting of thought. The poet's power may be less, but the truth has gained immeasurably in freedom, flexibility, and spirituality of utterance; it is no longer dogmatic and conventional; it is spiritual; it is in harmony with art and lends itself readily to the purposes of art without sacrificing anything of its integrity.

The spiritual element is not simply a quality diffused through literature and giving unconscious direction to thought and color to sentiment; it continually sets men in new attitudes towards the deepest things and recasts the fundamental conceptions of life.

The treatment of nature by some of the poets of our century affords striking evidence of a new point of view from which the modern mind surveys the natural world. A single classical poet, Lucretius, in those few beautiful lines which register the high-water mark of Latin poetry, saw far enough into nature to grasp the fact of the unity which underlies all its phenomena, and to identify the power which builds the oak with that which fashions the rose. To the poets before our century nature was, for the most part, an inexhaustible storehouse of illustration; their use of it was mainly objective and external. Shakespeare makes marvelous use of it to embody or suggest his thought; to the unsuspecting Duncan the castle of Macbeth "hath a pleasant seat; the air nimbly and sweetly recommends itself unto" his "gentle senses;" but to Lady Macbeth, whose direful purpose already blights the world, "the raven himself is hoarse that croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan." But of the spiritual symbolism of nature Shakespeare gives no hint.

It was the external phenomena which the Greek saw when he looked at nature, and in these phenomena the poets rested content for many generations. Theocritus, whose senses were so finely attuned to the world in which he lived, may fairly illustrate that attitude towards nature which sees in it only delicate touches of beauty and has no glimpse of that sublime harmony of parts in their spiritual relation to man which is one of the great conceptions of our time, and which, after all the researches of science, is still a flash of intelligence through the spiritual sense. Theocritus did not fail to note how the hush of noonday silenced all animate life; the lizard slept upon the wall, the lark wandered no more, the ancient murmur of the woods was still. He noted how —

"The red cicadas ceaselessly amid
The shady boughs were chirping; from afar
The tree-frog in the briers chanted shrill;
The crest-larks and the thistle-finches sang,
The turtle-dove was plaining; tawny bees
Were humming round the fountain. All things near
Smelt of the ripened summer.

"Here are the oaks, and here is galingale,
Here bees are sweetly humming near their hives;
Here are twin fountains of cool water; here
The birds are prattling on the trees, — the shade
Is deeper than beyond; and here the pine
From overhead casts down to us its cones."

Nothing could be more beautiful than the feeling of these lines;

they reveal a delicate and exact observation, and an exquisite sensitiveness to the most fleeting and elusive aspects of nature. And yet, with the fullest recognition of the inimitable charm of this kind of writing, it must be added that it reflects only the varied and flashing surface of the world; it records no deep soundings into the fathomless sea of the sweep and movement of law and force and spiritual purpose through nature. Of these deeper meanings the poets saw little from the time of Theocritus to the age of Burns, who went again with open eyes and heart into the deserted fields and marked the forgotten beauty of the daisy, and heard the song of the lark with a soul to which that music was akin.

But the moment we open Wordsworth we hear, clear, full, and resonant, a note which has been silent in all the earlier poetry:—

“ And oh, ye Fountains, Meadows, Hills and Groves,
Think not of any severing of our loves !
Yet in my heart of hearts I feel your might ;
I only have relinquished one delight
To live beneath your more habitual sway.
I love the brooks which down their channels fret
Even more than when I tripped lightly as they ;
The innocent brightness of a new born day
Is lovely yet ;
The clouds that gather round the setting sun
Do take a sombre coloring from an eye
That hath kept watch o’er man’s mortality ;
Another race hath been and other palms are won.
Thanks to the human heart by which we live,
Thanks to its tenderness, its joys, and fears,
To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.”

What a depth of meaning Wordsworth’s insight into nature as a symbol of spiritual truth and power has given his sonnets! They had, and they still have now that his thought has become familiar, the force and influence of a revelation of something unseen before:—

“ It is a beauteous evening, calm and pure ;
The holy time is quiet as a nun
Breathless with adoration ; the broad sun
Is sinking down in its tranquillity ;
The gentleness of heaven is on the sea ;
Listen ! the mighty being is awake,
And doth with his eternal motion make
A sound like thunder — everlastingly.”

There are other poets whose lines might fitly be quoted to illus-

trate this wholly modern thought of Nature, but Wordsworth remains unrivaled among his contemporaries and his successors in the fullness with which this conception possessed him, and the completeness of the expression it gained at his hands. To him more often than to any other came that mood, —

— “that blessed mood,
In which the affections gently lead us on, —
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul ;
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.”

And in such an hour there comes —

— “a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man ;
A motion and a spirit that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.”

Wordsworth saw nature not in passing glimpses of its various aspects, as the poets before him had seen it, but in a vision which penetrated to the innermost meaning of its phenomena and garnered that second and finer harvest to the mind of which Emerson speaks. But Wordsworth is not alone in the possession of this new spirit of divination; he shares it with many of his contemporaries and successors. Robert Browning has written mainly of human experience, but when he turns the intense light of his genius on nature it is the soul of things material which rewards his search. Bryant's “Forest Hymn,” Coleridge's noble “Hymn before Sunrise, in the Vale of Chamouni,” with its blended voices of mountain, forest, and rushing stream, Emerson's “Woodnotes,” Shelley's “Sky Lark,” reflect the same mood. Compare this treatment of nature with that of Gray, who rediscovered the poetic significance and picturesqueness of nature in the last century, or with that of Goldsmith or of Cowper, each admirable of his kind, and one instantly detects the presence of a new note of penetrating depth and sweetness.

If we turn to the other great field which poetry has made its own we discover a kindred effort to lay bare the spiritual mean-

ing of human life. It is impossible to think of Mrs. Browning as living in any century but our own; in no other would her thought have found congenial fellowships and a wide response. A born seer, if ever there was one, whose spiritual insight was so direct and absorbing that she sometimes missed the corresponding power of workmanship, she felt the spiritual world as if it pressed upon her very senses and lay open to sight and touch and speech. To her quickened perception every fact suggested its spiritual lesson, and no life was comprehensible unless it stood in the heart of far-reaching spiritual relationships. Her method was purely intuitional; she had an ample equipment of knowledge, but her imagination outran her thought and had already clothed the experience with speech before her critical faculty found opportunity to give her expression clearness, simplicity, and point. Hence faults of manner so obvious that criticism hardly pauses to point them out; hence, also, that deep and lasting charm of hers which wins and holds our hearts, rebel as we may in colder moods, with the power that springs from mastery of their secrets. Literature does not preserve the memorials of a more aspiring soul.

That which Mrs. Browning sought and found through pure intuition, Tennyson has sought and found through large knowledge and through deep and tranquil meditation. In him the good gifts of genius and fortune, so often at variance, have celebrated a lasting reconciliation. His is the hand trained in all the skills of the artist, the mind ripened by long and patient search for knowledge, the heart sensitive to the most delicate contacts with the spiritual world. In the "Palace of Art," in the "Vision of Sin," and above all in that noblest of elegies, "In Memoriam," art steps clear-eyed and sure-footed into the upper world of truth. Here is no transient ecstasy, no fleeting glimpse, no rare and vanishing vision of that which lies behind the phenomena of human life, but a calm, resolute, and thoroughly sane insight into the mysteries, and a strong, sweet, and abiding revelation of them. That which Mrs. Browning sought through feeling, Tennyson has found through thought; their paths of ascent were far apart, but they speak to us from the same height, and at heart their message is the same. By reason of his gifts, his culture, and his extraordinary good fortune Tennyson is likely to remain one of the representative English poets of our century; one of those who have seen most clearly into its heart and spoken most authoritatively its thought. He has given us the keynote of its noblest mood in words that seem familiar because they are so true: —

"Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
Whom we, that have not seen thy face,
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
Believing where we cannot prove ;

"Thine are these orbs of light and shade;
Thou madest Life in man and brute ;
Thou madest Death ; and lo, thy foot
Is on the skull which thou hast made.

"Thou wilt not leave us in the dust :
Thou madest man, he knows not why ;
He thinks he was not made to die ;
And thou hast made him : thou art just.

"Thou seemest human and divine,
The highest, holiest manhood, thou :
Our wills are ours, we know not how ;
Our wills are ours, to make them thine.

"Our little systems have their day ;
They have their day and cease to be :
They are but broken lights of thee,
And thou, O Lord, art more than they."

It is in such verse as this that the spiritual element reveals itself more perfectly and discovers its kinship with the truest art ; indeed, it is only the noblest art that can give us a music adequate to these themes ; that can take up once more the sublime burden of prophecy while it declares —

"That God, which ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

It is sufficient for the present purpose to indicate this general tendency in modern literature ; to follow all its leadings would involve a survey of the entire field of poetry. The spiritual element pervades it all ; sometimes in vague longing and aspiration, as in Mr. Arnold's "Obermann Once More ;" sometimes in clear, victorious tones, as in Whittier's "Psalm" and Mr. Browning's "Death in the Desert." There is hardly a page of Emerson, or Lowell, or Longfellow, or Bryant, or Whittier, which does not yield this music of spiritual purpose and consolation. Emerson found little else worth writing about ; and the Transcendental movement, unbalanced and short-lived as it was, had its impulse in this endeavor to spiritualize life. Jones Very expressed its deepest thought when he wrote : —

"The night that has no star lit up by God,
 The day that round men shines who still are blind,
 The earth their grave-turned feet for ages trod,
 And sea swept over by his mighty wind, —
 All these have passed away, — the melting dream
 That flitted o'er the sleeper's half-shut eye,
 When touched by morning's golden-darting beam ;
 And he beholds around the earth and sky
 What ever real stands ; the rolling shores
 And heaving billows of the boundless main,
 That show, though time is past, no trace of years,
 And earth restored he sees as his again, —
 The earth that fades not, and the heavens that stand,
 Their strong foundations laid by God's right hand."

The great advances of scientific knowledge in this century seem to register its real — and at times its only — progress, and the importance of the results achieved has naturally produced an aggressive temper often intolerant of different aims and methods ; but the spiritual impulses which nourish religion and the arts are not exhausted because they are for the moment less obtrusive. They have never entered more deeply into the life of the world than to-day, and they have never borne nobler fruit both in thought and in action. Poetry is still true to its vocation of recalling to each generation these spiritual verities which are the bread of life ; for the moment, its tones are less certain, its message is less inspiring and authoritative, but it is for the moment only. Every natural law has its spiritual side, and every natural process its spiritual analogue ; the discovery of the natural precedes the revelation of the spiritual ; but the two are inseparable ; they move together by the law which makes universal life a harmony. The scientific movement of the time is a splendid prophecy of a spiritual renaissance, which shall give us a new comprehension of the glory of a universe that has already grown, even in our limited knowledge, far beyond our halting thought.

Hamilton Wright Mabie.

GREENWICH, CONN.

A SCOTTISH MYSTIC.

PROBABLY no word has suffered greater injustice from that fertile source of injustice, misapprehension, than the word *mysticism*. It has been defined, even by one who practically understood and shared the spirit of Christian mysticism, as a reliance on the self-sufficing power of the human mind to be an inner light to itself; which is much as if one should maintain the bodily eye to be the *source* of light instead of its *recipient*, like the fabled diamond which served for a lamp in the fisherman's cottage. Even the mysticism which nourished a real spiritual life under very erroneous forms of belief took in most cases, if not in all, a higher stand than this. Notwithstanding all the mists of human error that have often obscured its light under fantastic cloud-shapes of wild fanaticism and extravagance, the "beatific vision" has, on the whole, been a true guide, not a misleading "will o' the wisp." Its truest definition would be, the power of "seeing that which is invisible," —

"The light that never was on sea or land,"

of recognizing the reality of the spiritual as even surer than that of the material, and living a real life in that higher sphere. And if we believe the human soul to be as truly formed to receive spiritual light as is the eye to receive the light of this world, we shall have little difficulty in accepting the truth that, even amid much darkness, seeking spirits have ever been able to find some, at least, of the light they sought. But true Christian mysticism is as far as the poles asunder from dreaming that the human soul can ever *suffice unto itself*. Its very existence depends on the light and life that reach it from above, and the effacement of self-sufficiency is the condition of their reception. The heart must be emptied of the old life of self before it can become a channel for that which flows into it from the living Vine; and hence only the "poor in spirit" can possess the "kingdom of heaven." Even where the sense of inward light has overshadowed, to some extent, the voice of outward revelation, it is still the "*witness of the Spirit*" that is valued. The "inner voice" has not been the voice of man, but the voice of God, heard more or less clearly, but still *heard*. And as all will admit, however clear the voice of revelation, there is also necessary the "*witness of the Spirit*," to make the outer voice of any real value to the soul. Such was the mysticism of St. Paul and St. John, as it was of David and Zechariah; and such, in a greater or

less degree, must be that of all whose "life is hid with Christ in God."

But it is only in a few chosen spirits that the fullness of this spiritual experience has been largely developed. All Christians might have something of it, but not all have naturally the same degree of what we might call spiritual susceptibility; and by reason of the always tyrannical power of sense and sin few attain it to the highest extent possible to mortal man; for it is preëminently "the pure in heart" who "shall see God." To these few *âmes d'élite*, as we may surely call them, the Christian church owes an inexpressible debt of gratitude. They are like the men at the mast-head, who descry the glories and beauties of the undiscovered country, and announce them to those who are vainly peering through the mist below; or like the spies sent into the land of promise, who bring back the rich clusters from the heavenly Vine, to convince unbelieving souls of the bounteous fertility of the goodly land before them. Such blessed souls, soaring on wings of love and faith into the sunshine, can teach much to those who live on a lower and colder level. They can show them where and how to satisfy the latent longing that underlies many a disquieted life: "My flesh and my heart cry out for the living God." Was it not Wesley who defined mysticism, briefly and happily, as "*heart religion*"?—in which he only followed Augustine and other early saints. And it is just this realized experience of the "mystic" that our Christianity needs to-day, the answer alike to the arguments of the skeptic and the sneer of "civilized heathen." As men are far nearer to each other in heart than in mind, it is this heart religion that is to be the bond of union amid inevitable intellectual divisions, the meeting-point of those who depreciate long-detailed schemes of doctrine and of those who dread that, without these, Christianity will become a vague and misty shadow. For this pure burning life of faith and love has been found in close connection with the most widely differing views of systematic theology, and very often, with no systematic views at all, Arminian and Calvinist, Jesuit and Quaker, have shown the unity of experience and the annihilation of differences, when the question came to be one of *life*, not mere doctrine. In the most elaborate ceremonial and in the baldest and simplest service the essential element of true spiritual devotion is the same, whether it is seen in a St. Francis or a George Fox, a Saint Theresa or an illiterate "lass" of the Salvation Army.

One of the most remarkable of truly spiritual mystics, whose

burning words have awakened many a sleeping soul to its glorious inheritance in Christ Jesus, is Samuel Rutherford, who in a stormy time of rude and sharp conflict sang a very Angels' Song, — a "Song of my Well-beloved," — the notes of which blend even to-day with our Christian worship in one of our sweetest hymns. Few probably of the many who have felt their pulses thrilled by the "Last Words of Samuel Rutherford," so fitly versified and set to music, or of the smaller number who know and love his "Letters," and have drawn from them spiritual help and nourishment, ever stop to realize the sternness of the conflict, the vehemence of that *Sturm-und-Drang* period of religious and political history which forms so strange a background to these outpourings of love and trust. Is it not after all just from such deeply stirred soils that such flowers grow? His life began, like that of Charles the First, with the stormy opening of the seventeenth century, when the struggle between the growing young giants of civil and religious liberty and the growing despotism of the haughty Stuart line was convulsing the whole kingdom. Scotland, in giving to England "the most high and mighty Prince James," whose appearance was to disperse all mists "like the sun in his strength," had bound upon herself the fetters of a despot determined to trample on her most sacred rights. While Rutherford was still a child, this "most tender and loving nursing Father of the Church," as the translators of the Bible have it, was gradually forcing Episcopacy, by a process of systematic encroachment, upon Presbyterian Scotland, and persecuting those ministers who dared to resist the oppression. No doubt the thoughtful child in his secluded home often heard the sad story of the brave Andrew Melville's three years' imprisonment in the Tower, and of the embarkation at Leith of John Welch and the other banished ministers, amid weeping and lamentation. Persecution was impartially distributed, however, on either side of the king's *juste milieu*. As a lad at the grammar-school, Rutherford may have heard the tidings, how, at Glasgow, a humble Jesuit named Ogilvy, who had "come into Scotland to save souls," was by decree of "that sanctified person" hanged in the High Street, after being tormented by deprivation of sleep till he became half delirious. A few years later his brethren Brébeuf and Lallemant, out in our North American wilds, were barbarously done to death by Indian savages. When all guilt shall be estimated at its true value, which shall be held to have the greater sin, these ignorant heathen, or that "nursing Father of the Church"? Those were barbarous times in which

fallible men, hardened and embittered by controversy, made their own minds the rule and measure of God's truth; and if Rutherford, like many of his countrymen of that age, seems to have been somewhat fanatical in his hatred of "Anti-Christian prelacy," we have only to study the history of the time, to cease to wonder that it has graven such deep lines and so stern a Puritan bias in the Scottish religious mind.

Notwithstanding the *perfervidum ingenium* of the Scottish temperament, the prevailing type of piety has always been more intellectual than devotional in its cast, and therefore less disposed to yield itself easily to an impassioned strain of mystic love and rapture. The fervid soul of Rutherford united to a somewhat hard and logically rigid theology an ardor of spiritual love and joy which could only find expression in language usually monopolized by earthly devotion. He was of gentle birth, bearing a family name well known in the Scottish border. Of his childhood we know little, but can imagine the sensitive, poetic, imaginative boy, growing up in a country home, — doubtless under the eye of a deeply pious mother, — and nourishing his poetical cravings and unfolding spiritual aspirations on the grand old Psalms and Prophets, from which Scottish children were wont to draw so much of their spiritual sustenance. His education was duly carried on, in the fashion of that age, at one of the grammar-schools, for whose number and excellence Scotland was even then noted, where, doubtless, — as James Melville tells us of that of Montrose, a little earlier, — "was a guid number of gentle and honest men's bernes [children] of the country about, weill treaned up in letters, godliness, and the observance of the honest geams [games]." There, like James Melville, he learned, besides the due proportion of "Catechisme, Prayers, and Scripture, *par cœur*, the 'rudiments of the Latin grammair,' with the vocables in Latin and Frenche; also divers speitches in Frenche, with the reiding and right pronounciation of that tounge; the 'Etymologie' of Lilius and his 'Syntax,' as also a little of the 'Syntax' of Linacer, Hunter's 'Nomenclatura,' the 'Minda Colloquia' of Erasmus, and some of the 'Eclogs' of Virgill and 'Epistles' of Horace, also Cicero, his 'Epistles ad Terentiam.'" To this respectable list, notwithstanding the apparent absence of mathematics, was added the "observance of the honest games," which, in Melville's time, were archery, golf, fencing, running, leaping, swimming, wrestling, — a list of gymnastic accomplishments showing that, in those days, physical education, under the name of "play," was by no

means neglected. These schools were all under the superintendence of the Church, through the Presbyteries, and compulsory education was, in some places, the rule; while, in the absence of free schools, it was considerably provided that the children of the poor should be educated at the expense of the town, — three hours every day being allowed them to beg their food!

At seventeen, Samuel Rutherford, having gone as far as the grammar-school could carry him, went to enroll himself as a student in Edinburgh University. It was an exciting time for young Scotsmen looking forward to the ministry of their Church. In May, 1607, James had entered the Scottish capital in state, had instituted the full Anglican service in the royal chapel at Holyrood, where his mother had once instituted the mass, and had opened the Parliament, intending to confirm his royal authority over the government of the Scottish Church. It was in vain that the bravest of the ministers protested against this usurpation of civil authority over things spiritual. James, as usual, imprisoned, degraded, or banished those who resisted his will, banishing on this occasion the celebrated Church historian, David Calderwood, for deferentially defending the protest before the King and the High Commission. After condemning faithful ministers of the gospel to exile, this "sanctified person" soon after published (in England) his "Declaration to encourage Recreations and Sports on the Lord's Day," going farther than most of our "Sunday opening" societies would venture, even in this "advanced" age.

Having succeeded in enforcing conformity of government with the Church of England, James now proceeded to bring about conformity in worship also. At an assembly called at Perth, in 1618, Five Articles dictated by him were forced on its acceptance, these including confirmation, kneeling at the sacrament, and the observance of Christmas and Easter and other church festivals. And if Presbyterians still seem somewhat obstinate and fanatical in their opposition to a commemoration of the most sacred anniversaries, — which seems to most Christians beautiful and appropriate, — the reason is not far to seek, if we regard the circumstances of their attempted introduction into Scotland, and the intense feeling which such unapostolic tyranny called forth.

But we must return to Rutherford, during such troublous times quietly pursuing his studies at Edinburgh University, though we can well imagine the enthusiastic lad discussing eagerly the "situation" with his comrades as they walked down the High

Street to the old college gate. But he studied so assiduously and successfully that, six years after his entrance, and but two years after taking the degree of Master of Arts, he was, "on account of eminent abilities of mind, and virtuous disposition," appointed Professor of "Humanity," or Classics, in his Alma Mater.

The times were still dark and ominous for Presbyterians, and especially for Presbyterian ministers. For though General Assemblies and Presbyteries were not yet legally abrogated, and though the tyrannical James had gone to his account, his son Charles was likely to prove a Rehoboam indeed, and it was easy to see how affairs were tending. A quiet, studious professorship promised a far smoother and safer career than that of a minister in Presbyterian orders, and Rutherford loved quiet and study. But his true vocation was that of a pastor, and, irresistibly drawn thereto, he entered, at the age of twenty-eight, on the pastorate of his ever-beloved Anwoth, — a secluded little parish close to the impetuously rushing and ebbing tide of the Solway, — now hallowed by the fragrance of his name and its tender and sacred associations. There he spent some ten years of devoted pastoral work, — years in which the country at large was still distracted between Episcopacy and Presbytery, and spiritually starved by controversy and partisanship. But in "fair Anwoth on the Solway," to judge by the "Letters" of this time, a freer and warmer spiritual atmosphere prevailed. Such eloquent and burning appeals had never waked the echoes of the homely little parish church; such tender and stimulating pastoral visits had never blessed the homes of laird and cotter. He was wont to rise at three in the morning, that he might have a longer day for the earnest prayer and the varied labors of a pastor's life. His unwearied devotion and loving spirit made him almost idolized by the simple country folk, — always disposed to look up to "the minister" with a reverential regard; and throughout the whole pastoral district of Galloway his name was a household word. There is a pleasant story attached to these peaceful years, which has a special suggestiveness from the character of the age. There came to the picturesquely-situated manse of Anwoth a tired wayfarer who, simply as a wayfarer and a stranger, was invited to share the always cordial hospitality of a Scottish manse. His attire was that of a plain countryman, and, as the manse accommodation was very limited, he was well pleased to accept the usual resting-place of the wanderer, — a bed of clean straw in

the barn or hay-loft. It was Saturday evening, and when the household assembled for the usual worship and "catechising," the stranger was called in with the rest. In the course of the exercises Mr. Rutherford, desirous of testing the religious knowledge of his guest, or possibly wishing to include him in the proceedings, by giving him a question he could easily answer, inquired of him how many commandments there were. "*Eleven!*" was the disappointing reply. The strange mistake, as it seemed, was corrected, possibly with an expressed or implied rebuke. Early in the sweet, fresh Sabbath morning, Mr. Rutherford was up by day-break, according to his custom, and pacing his garden, absorbed in preparation for the duties of the day, when there broke upon his ear the tones of earnest prayer, so intense, so spiritual, that he stood transfixed in surprise as he perceived that the unseen suppliant was the unknown stranger in the loft. When the prayer was ended, the young Scottish minister sought his guest to claim him as a brother in Christ, and then found that the humble wayfarer was an Episcopal minister from the south of the Tweed, Usher by name. That morning he preached in the kirk of Anwoth, and he took for his text John xiii. 34, and for his subject the *Eleventh* Commandment, a name that has clung to the precept ever since. Two such men must have had much delightful spiritual communion before they parted, for strong Presbyterian as Rutherford was, he could love a *brother*, even in a "prelatist." It may have been partly owing to the influence of this pleasant episode that Archbishop Usher afterwards endeavored to mediate between the two extreme parties by proposing for Scotland the modified Episcopacy which would probably have satisfied neither. Had it been possible for Rutherford and Usher to have acted as plenipotentiaries for their respective churches, the history of the struggle for liberty in both England and Scotland might have been much modified. The bitter and bloody struggles of the Covenant might have been avoided, milder councils might have prevailed in both kingdoms, and Charles I. might have reigned long as a constitutional monarch.

Of Rutherford's married life we know but little. His first wife died, after a long illness, within two years after his settlement at Anwoth, when he was but thirty years of age. Later in life he married again, and at his death left one surviving child. Little, however, of his personal life appears in his writings, in which the relation to the divine seemed to place all human relations in the background.

Meantime events were thickening and hastening on to the inevitable conflict. The haughty and imperious Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, was, like most of the Episcopal clergy, a strong Arminian. Rutherford, in his quiet study at Anwoth, wrote a controversial treatise — “*Exercitationes de Gratiâ*” — which bitterly galled the bishop, and about the time of his wife’s death and his own severe illness he was cited to appear before the High Commission Court, though as he had entered his charge by presentation from the Viscount of Kenmuir, without any engagement to the bishops, he was not, strictly speaking, under their jurisdiction. Various causes combined to bring this prosecution to nought, and Rutherford was left in peace a few years longer.

In 1683 Charles visited Scotland to receive his ancestral crown, with great pomp and ceremony, and to carry on somewhat farther his father’s pet design of forcing Episcopacy on Scotland. In 1686 came the *coup de grâce*, — the “*Ecclesiastical Canons for the Government of the Church of Scotland*,” strictly enjoining a ritualistic Episcopacy which, under the inspiration of Archbishop Laud, was strongly Romanizing in its tendency, and forbidding all private religious meetings as unlawful conventicles. The further to carry out the idea of uniformity in worship cherished by both James and Charles, a liturgy followed the Canons. The Church of Scotland had never, since the days of Knox, been without a liturgy of its own, though its use was optional and had been only partial. It therefore did not object to a liturgy, as such, but this one, which a decree of Charles prescribed for use in all the churches of the kingdom, was almost a copy of the Anglican one, with alterations by Laud, which assimilated it more to the Roman missal.

In imposing these radical decrees, whereby it was intended to destroy Presbytery root and branch, Charles signally overshot his mark. He had calculated too far on the patience of his Scottish subjects. On the day appointed for the introduction of the new liturgy — July 18, 1687 — the people rose in revolt. The stool thrown by the famous Jenny Geddes at the Dean of St. Giles’s was, as it were, the signal and symbol of a general uprising, which defied control and burst all bounds, irresistible as a flood.

In these last exciting events, however, Rutherford was forced to be a passive spectator. In April, 1684, he had been again summoned before the same court, and despite the intercession of some of his friends, more especially of the afterwards famous Marquis of Argyle, he was, in 1686, deprived of his parochial office,

strictly prohibited from preaching, and sentenced to remain a state prisoner, during the king's pleasure, in the city of Aberdeen.

To this harsh sentence, confirmed by the Supreme Court in Edinburgh, Rutherford had no choice but to submit. He must tear himself away from his beloved flock and quiet manse at Anwoth, and bear, as patiently as he might, his confinement as a silenced minister in a city which was then the headquarters of the doctrine and ceremonial he so strongly opposed, and which offered to his fervid soul a most chilling and ungenial atmosphere. "The Lord," he writes from thence, "hath brought me to Aberdeen, where I see God in few. This town hath been advised upon of purpose for me; it consisteth either of Papists or men of Gallio's naughty faith; it is counted wisdom in the most not to countenance a confined minister, *but I find Christ neither strange nor unkind.*" This was his compensation! The gracious form of his Divine Master seemed to break through the clouds, with such radiance as to fill his soul with an unspeakable joy and consolation which overpowered all other feelings. "I never knew before," he writes again, "that his love was in such a measure. If He leaves me, He leaves me in pain, and sick of love, and yet my sickness is my life and health. I have a fire within me; I defy all the devils in hell and all the prelates in Scotland to cast water on it." "No preaching, no book, no learning could give me that which I behoved to come and get in this town. Some have written to me that I am possibly too joyful of the cross, but my joy overleapeth the cross, it is bounded and terminate upon *Christ*. I know the sun will overcloud and eclipse, and I shall again be put to walk in the shadow, — but *Christ must be welcome to come and go as he thinketh meet.*"

But in the midst of his overflowing spiritual joy, he yearned, with a father's tenderness, over the little flock from which he had been so rudely severed, and whose needs and sorrows he felt acutely, passing through much heaviness of soul in their behalf. To convey to them the comfort wherewith he had been comforted of God, these "Letters" were written which have helped and comforted so many more. Quaint and often obsolete as is their old Scottish phraseology, *they* can never grow old, for they appeal to the ever-living needs of the human heart. As letters they are unique in their character, from being filled, not with reflections or speculations, but with Christ, to the exclusion of almost all else. Doctrinal subjects are occasionally glanced at, and at such times

even Rutherford becomes sectarian; but in general his burning thoughts belong to the pure empyrean, far above the strife of polemics or of schools. In his enforced absence, the bereaved pastor shares with his bereaved people, collectively or individually, the varied experiences of his own soul, — his natural depression and grief as well as the rich and sweet compensations bestowed by Christ, his intense longings after greater love and fuller communion, and the irrepressible soul-satisfying joy and peace "that passeth all understanding," which taxed his whole range of language and metaphor to express. Full of unconscious poetry they are, too; the "little birds of Anwoth," the "mayflower," the fallow field, the moonlight and dews, the rising storm, the summer shower, the river, "flowing over bank and brae," — all are called into requisition to describe the ever-varying phases of the life of the soul "hid with Christ in God."

But let us give a few of his own outpourings both in sorrow and joy, taken here and there from letters whose motto might be, "Sorrowing yet alway rejoicing:" —

"My closed mouth, my silent Sabbaths, the memory of my communion with Christ, in many fair, fair days in Anwoth, hath almost broken my faith into two halves; yet in my deepest apprehensions of his anger, I see through a cloud that I am wrong; and He, in love to my soul, hath taken up the controversy between faith and apprehension, and a judgment is passed on Christ's side of it; and I subscribe the judgment."

"When I think upon the sparrows and swallows that build their nests in the kirk at Anwoth, and of my dumb Sabbaths, my sorrowful eyes make me look upon Christ as angry with me, but I forbid my thoughts to receive slanders of my Preserver."

"I desire to give no faith, no credit to my sorrow when it suggests hard thoughts of Christ; yet these thoughts awake with me in the morning; oh, what service can a silenced man do in Christ's house? I am a dry tree, alas! I can neither plant nor water! Oh, if I might but speak to three or four herdboys of my Master, I would be satisfied to be the meanest and most obscure of all the pastors in this land! But He saith, 'I will not send you, I have no errands for you.' My desire to serve Him is sick of jealousy, lest He be unwilling to employ me. Secondly, this is seconded with another, What have I done in Anwoth? The fair work that my Master began there is like a bird dying in the shell; and what then shall I have to show of all my labor, in the day of my appearance before Him, when the Master of the vineyard calleth

the laborers and giveth them their hire? Yet thirdly, I truly repent, and pray Christ to pardon my querulous unbelieving sadness and sorrow. I rue from my heart that I yielded so far to the *Law* as to apprehend wrath in my Lord Jesus; for truly I am a debtor to his love,—but I wish He would give me grace to learn to do without his comforts, *and to give thanks and believe, when the sun is not in the firmament.*”

“It was good for me to come to Aberdeen, to learn a new mystery of Christ, that his promise is to be believed against all appearance.”

“It is true, my silent Sabbaths have been, and still are, glassy ice, whereon my faith can scarce hold its feet, and I am often blown back with a storm of doubting; yet truly my bonds all this time are perfumed with the deep love of Christ.”

“God hath made many fair flowers, but the fairest of them all is heaven, and the flower of all flowers is Christ. Oh, why do we not flee up to that lovely One? Oh, for as much love as would go round about the earth and over the heaven; yea the heaven of heavens and ten thousand worlds, that I might let all out upon fair, fair, only fair Christ. But, alas! I have nothing for Him, yet He hath much for me.”

“I creep under my Lord’s wings in the great shower, and the water cannot reach me. We may sing even in our winter’s storm, in the expectation of a summer’s sun at the turn of the year. No created powers in hell or out of hell can mar our Lord Jesus his music or spoil our song of joy; let us then be glad and rejoice in the salvation of our Lord, for faith had never yet cause to have wet cheeks and hanging down brows, or to droop and die.”

So Samuel Rutherford was enabled by God’s grace to “sing the Lord’s song,” in what to him was spiritually a “strange land.” But in February, 1638, the famous “Covenant” was signed in Greyfriars Churchyard. Charles was compelled to recede, and the course of public events soon rendered it possible for Mr. Rutherford to return without hindrance to his beloved flock, where in that season of intense religious fervor his unwearied ministrations were even more acceptable and useful than they had been before. He was present as a delegate at the memorable and stormy Assembly which met in the old Cathedral of Glasgow in the end of 1638, to consummate the ecclesiastical reaction, and stamp out Episcopacy by deposing the Bishops, just as Charles had done his best to stamp out Presbytery. The lesson of toleration had not been learned in those days; and now the tables were turned, and,

as the Moderator expressed it in closing the Assembly, they had "cast down the walls of Jericho!"

That Rutherford, keen controversialist and ardent churchman though he was, did not approve of all the extreme measures of that Assembly is evident from the regretful tone of his reference to it in one of his latest writings in "The Covenanted Work of Reformation in Scotland," in words full of truth:—

"The Church of Scotland had once as much of the presence of Christ as to the power and purity of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, as any land we read of since the Lord took his ancient people to be his covenanted church. Afterwards, our work in public was too much in sequestration of estates, fining, and imprisoning, more than in a compassionate mournfulness of spirit toward those whom we saw to oppose the work. In our assemblies, we sought more to set up a state opposite to a state more set upon forms, citations, leading of witnesses, suspensions from benefices, than spiritually to persuade and work upon the conscience with the meekness and gentleness of Christ. Whichever way the army and the sword, and the countenance of nobles and officers seemed to sway, that way were the measures carried. And if the meekness and gentleness of our Master had got so much place in our hearts we might have waited on gainsayers and parties contrary minded and driven gently, as our Master Christ who loves not to overdrive, but carries the lambs in his bosom."

By the Assembly of 1638, Rutherford was appointed Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews and assistant minister in its parish church. This University town had been the seat of the primate of Scotland, and the centre of a cold formalism, but such was the effect of the spiritual power of Rutherford in teaching and preaching that, in the quaint language of the time, it "forthwith became a Lebanon out of which were taken cedars for building the house of God throughout the land." At the Assembly of 1640, shortly before the famous Long Parliament met, we find Rutherford, who did not usually speak much in Church Courts, taking part in a debate concerning private religious meetings, opposed, strange as it now seems, by one section of the Assembly. Mr. Rutherford's contribution to the debate consisted of an effective syllogism, which eventually settled the question for that time: "What the Scriptures do warrant, no assembly may disannul; but private meetings for religious exercises the Scriptures do warrant, 'They that feared the Lord spake often one to another,' etc., 'Confess your faults one to another

and pray one for another,' etc. *These things could not be done in public meetings."*

We do not know whether Rutherford was as much opposed to the barbarous statutes passed about this time concerning unhappy old women charged with witchcraft. It seems scarcely credible that in one Scottish county alone, and in the course of a few months, upwards of thirty of these victims of superstition were burned to death, the Assembly expressing its astonishment and regret at the increase of a supposed crime, itself the creation of the wave of superstition and fanaticism from which the land could not shake itself free as summarily as it had shaken off Episcopacy. As we have said, it was a barbarous age, when kirk sessions required the trembling and weeping women who sat publicly on the "stool of repentance," to lay aside on such occasions the plaid which formed the modest headgear of Scottish women, and with which they were fain to hide their downcast faces.

The battle for religious liberty which had been fought in Scotland had helped to bring about the victory of the Long Parliament, and the disestablishment of Episcopacy in England. But in pulling down this form of church polity, the English Puritans had set up no other. The sympathies of the Scottish Presbyterians were with the Puritans, but they never anticipated any successor to Episcopacy short of the Presbytery, in whose divine right they fully believed. To them Independency was but another form of error, and its followers were "sectaries." Their Calvinism, too, had been intensified by their contest with Arminianism. Upon the Covenanters now dawned the glorious hope of extending throughout England as well as Scotland the blessings of Presbyterian doctrine and government. As Charles had insisted on uniformity on behalf of Episcopacy, so the Presbyterian leaders now demanded uniformity on behalf of Presbytery. Under pressure of this demand, Parliament called together the celebrated Assembly of Divines at Westminster, closely associated with the "Westminster Confession," so long, for good or ill, the watchword of Presbyterianism in the Old World and the New.

For this great Assembly Rutherford went up to London as one of the six Scottish Commissioners. One of the lay commissioners was, strange to say, the afterwards notorious Duke of Lauderdale, one of the bitterest and most treacherous persecutors of the church he then represented.

We can imagine the solemn gladness with which Samuel Rutherford went to London, full of the belief that he was now to help

to enthrone his beloved Church as supreme in England as well as in Scotland. It is well that the future is hidden from our eyes. There is no more striking proof of the fatuity of all endeavors to cramp men's minds in a cast-iron uniformity than the record of the two attempts to enforce uniformity in England and Scotland, — in the one case at the point of the sword, in the other by force of opinion. Notwithstanding the Stuarts and the Covenant, the northern kingdom has remained mainly Presbyterian, the southern mainly Episcopalian and Independent. And it is well for religious liberty and progress that it is so.

"God fulfils himself in many ways

Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

The Assembly, however, which met in Westminster Abbey, lasted for *five years and a half*, and sat *one thousand and sixty-three* times! It left to future ages, as the result of its labors, the "Form of Church Government," the "Directory of Public Worship," the "Westminster Confession of Faith," and, not least, the "Shorter Catechism," which, notwithstanding one or two extreme statements, is incomparable as a brief compendium of Christian doctrine. There were strongly defined parties at the Assembly, and much keen discussion. The catholicity of Baxter and the spirituality of Howe were unfortunately lacking. Mr. Rutherford, however, was one of its most honored members, and universally beloved for his zeal and faithfulness. It was during his attendance there that he wrote his celebrated "*Lex Rex*," which anticipated some of the most liberal views of our own age on constitutional liberty. Those were times when no one inquired, "Should clergymen be politicians?" It was a question of existence. Religious and civil liberty were inextricably intertwined, and must stand or fall together. Of "*Lex Rex*," Charles himself said that it would never get an answer. Before the Westminster Assembly had closed, however, the monarchy in England was crushed for the time, and the royal "martyr" had expiated his constitutional sins on the scaffold before Whitehall. And by one of the strange reactions of history, Scottish chivalry had taken up the falling cause of its tyrannical oppressor, and its army fought for him to the last, and tried to force young Charles II. in England as his successor.

It were a long and weary task to record the troubled history of the Scottish Church for some succeeding years. While the country was fighting for Charles II., Rutherford was one of a small band of "Protesters," who in some respects would seem illiberal,

but were doubtless actuated by a well-grounded suspicion of the unhappy alliance of the Church with an unscrupulous prince who signed the Covenant purely to accomplish his own selfish ends. About this time, Mr. Rutherford was urgently invited by two Dutch universities to accept appointment to their divinity chairs. But he had the heart of a true patriot, and as he had refused to think of emigrating to America in the former season of persecution, so neither could he be induced to leave his beloved Church and country at a crisis when they were torn by internal discord, and the General Assembly, at war with the English Parliament, was put down by the troops of Cromwell. Till the Protector's death, however, six years later, the Scottish Presbyterians continued free to worship God as their consciences prescribed.

With the restoration of Charles II. came the troubles that might have been looked for from any scion of the Stuart house. The freedom bought with a great price at Marston Moor and Worcester had been thrown away, and Scotland, blinded by its chivalrous loyalty, rejoiced over the event which it had helped to accomplish. But very soon the covenanted monarch threw off the solemn oath he had taken. A rescissory act speedily undid the work of twenty years, Episcopacy was once more supreme in Scotland, and imprisonment or death was the fate of all who presumed to resist or even to remonstrate. The hopes of those who had toiled to rear the fair fabric of the Scottish kirk were again dashed to the ground. Rutherford was marked out as one of the victims of prelatical wrath. His obnoxious book, "*Lex Rex*," was burned at the Cross of Edinburgh by the common hangman, and for having written it, he was indicted for *high treason*, and summoned before Parliament. Had he lived to obey the summons, it is probable that he would have shared the ignominious death of his friend James Guthrie, to whom, shortly before his trial and execution, one of his last letters was addressed, full of Christian sympathy and glorious hope. But he himself was being called home by the more gradual way of wasting illness. "Tell them," he said, when the summons came, "I have got a summons already before a superior judge and judicatory, and I behoove to answer my first summons." Rejoicing in the realized presence of his Master, and in the happy assurance of a fuller and sweeter communion beyond the grave, he needed little to care for summons or indictment, or for the burning of his book by Archbishop Sharpe, before his windows at St. Andrews. He was already a dweller in heavenly places. The hymn which embalms his "Last Words," and other

characteristic thoughts, is familiar to all, or ought to be. The day before his death he exclaimed, "Oh, that all my brethren in the public may know what a Master I have served, and what peace I have this day. I shall sleep in Christ, and when I awake, I shall be satisfied with his likeness. This night shall close the door, and put my anchor within the veil, and I shall go away in a sleep, by five of the clock in the morning." It was even as he said. On the 19th of March, 1661, in the sixty-first year of his age, while Parliament was debating whether to let him die in the college or not, he passed into the eternal rest, almost with the words on his lips: "Glory, glory, dwelleth in Emmanuel's Land!"

Few men have so remarkably combined the qualities of a keen and able controversialist and a fervid and loving saint. No doubt tyranny and persecution had tinged him with bigotry and intolerance in matters which, in a happier age of liberty, we deem non-essential. But the chord of Christian love was ever the dominant one in his heart. His hope for his beloved Church and country was ever strong: "There shall be a fair green garden for Christ in this land, and God's summer dew shall lie on it all the night, and we shall sing again our new marriage-song to our Bridegroom, concerning his vineyard; but who knoweth whether we shall live and see it?" He himself was mercifully taken away from the evil to come; from the bitter and bloody struggle which wasted the land; from the cruel persecution which drove out ministers and people from their parish churches, to be hunted like partridges on the mountains, and shot down by Claverhouse and his troopers, because they sought there "freedom to worship God," according to their consciences. Little wonder if such men as Rutherford and Guthrie could see no good in a system associated in their minds with oppression and cruelty!

"For the forms of things deceive us, and we quarrel o'er our creeds,
While each true heart receives the one truth his spirit needs."

Rutherford's "Letters" number three hundred and sixty-two; the earliest dating from Anwoth soon after his settlement there, the latest from St. Andrews, only three weeks before his death. Besides the full edition, which is cumbered with a good deal of repetition and with occasional coarseness of imagery, there is an admirable abridged one, edited by a man of like spiritual genius and saintly spirit, the late Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen. It is Rutherford's "fair garden" of spiritual flowers, carefully weeded. It were well that these were better known in an age that especially needs the truth that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance

of the things that he possesseth." In one of them he writes: "If my sufferings could do beholders good and edify his church, and proclaim the incomparable worth of Christ's love to the world, oh, then would my soul be overjoyed, and my sad heart cheered and calmed." He has indeed fulfilled his own aspiration. While his controversial writings, able and numerous as they are, are now hardly known, these melodies of faith and love, drawn forth by suffering, have been to thousands, during these two hundred years, a veritable well-spring of quickening and inspiration. Of the sacred places of Scotland, in the estimation of many hearts, the humble kirk and manse of Anwoth are second only to old Greyfriars Churchyard or the ruins of Iona.

Agnes Maule Machar.

KINGSTON, ONTARIO, CANADA.

BUDDHISM'S BEST GOSPEL.

THE sprightly account of an interview with "A Bōzū of the Monto Sect," which appeared in the "Century" for July, tantalizes the reader not only by leaving its most important question unanswered, but also by suggesting a host of others concerning which we are left equally in the dark. After "What is this God?" we would further ask, "How came this Buddhist priest to be a monotheist? How came he to be a theist at all? What is this religion which is claimed to be better for the Japanese than that of the Bible? Who is this priest who is so keen of mind and quick of tongue? Is he a fair specimen of the priests of Japan?" To some of these questions an answer will be attempted in the following pages.

It is now more than twelve years since, on a beautiful day in May in Taiko Sama's garden in Kyoto, a friend who was a learned priest of the Nishi Honganji, the chief temple of the Shin or Monto sect, brought to me his fellow-priest, Renjo Akamatsū, the "bōzū" of the article referred to. I was wholly unprepared to meet an English-speaking priest familiar with Western scientific and religious thought, and the great surprise and interest of that meeting are vividly recalled by Mr. Parks's animated narrative. Here was the greatest of the curiosities I had found in Japan; and from this and repeated interviews, during the years that followed, Buddhism became a subject of intense interest.

Priest Akamatsū, as I learned later, is one of two monks sent to Europe several years previous by the so-called "Reformed" or "Protestant" Buddhists for the study of Pali and Sanskrit, and especially for the study of Christianity. One spent much of his time in France, but Mr. Akamatsū's studies were mostly in London, Oxford, and Edinburgh.¹ One result of this trip was the establishment of a college in Kyoto, in which instruction in English and in Western science was to form a part of the curriculum. The more conservative priests, however, opposed this feature, and the college is only a shadow of what it was intended to be. Another result is found in the attempt to put Buddhist teaching as far as possible in a Christian form. Hence it is that he speaks of Amitabha as "God," — a word which Buddhists never use of their objects of worship, and even he would shrink from its use to one acquainted with the Japanese language. I remember with what evident pleasure he said to me one day: "We look upon Sakyamuni just as the Unitarians look upon Jesus Christ, not as divine but simply as a great teacher."

Mr. Akamatsū's mental characteristics are sufficiently evident from Mr. Parks's account; something more as to his religious tenets may be desirable.

The sect to which he belongs represents the extreme reaction from the comfortless no-soul, no-immortality, no-God, no-prayer teaching of Sakyamuni. All through the great North, which if we follow the usual statistics embraces 470,000,000 of the 500,000,000 of Buddhists, the masses negative all these negatives and indulge the larger hope of an objective savior and a real existence after death. Amitabha, who is one of many imaginary buddhas who are clothed with infinite attributes by the different sects, and is by far the most popular buddha in northern countries, becomes in this sect the only Saviour, the "One God" of Mr. Akamatsū. "What is this God," — this best gospel of Buddhism? Let us hear from Mr. Akamatsū himself. The following statement of belief I received from his own hands: —

"A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF 'SHINSHIU.'"

"Buddhism teaches that all things, both abstract and concrete,

¹ A similar delegation was sent out in 1879, and bore fruit in B. Nanjio's splendid Catalogue of the Tripitaka. It is a suggestive fact that these priests were sent to a Christian land to study the sacred languages of their religion, and that the best catalogue of the Buddhist Scriptures bears the seal of a Christian University, with the motto "*Dominus illuminatio mea.*"

are produced and destroyed by certain causes and combinations of circumstances ; and that the state of our present life has its cause in what we have done in our previous existence up to the present ; and our present actions will become the causes of our state of existence in the future life.

"As our doings are good or bad and of different degrees of excellence or evil, so these produce different effects, having many degrees of suffering or happiness. All men and other sentient beings have an interminable existence, dying in one form and being reborn in another ; so that if men wish to escape from a miserable state of transmigration they must cut off the causes, which are the passions, such, for example, as covetousness, anger, etc.

"The principal object of Buddhism is to enable men to obtain salvation from misery according to the doctrine of 'extinction of passion.' This doctrine is the cause of salvation, and salvation is the effect of this doctrine. This salvation we call *Nirvâna*, which means eternal happiness, and is the state of Buddha. It is, however, very difficult to cut off all the passions, but Buddhism professes to teach many ways of obtaining this object.

"*Nâgârdjuna*, the Indian saint, said that in Buddhism there are many ways, easy and difficult, as in worldly ways, some painful like a mountainous journey, others pleasant like sailing on the sea. These ways may be classed in two divisions, one being called 'self-power,' or help through self, and the other called 'the power of others,' or 'help through another.'

"Our sect, called '*Shinshiu*,' literally meaning, 'True doctrine,' which was founded by *Shinran Shonin*, teaches the doctrine of 'help from another.' Now what is the 'power of another?' It is the great power of *Amita Buddha*. *Amita* means 'boundless,' and we believe that the life and light of Buddha are both perfect ; also that other buddhas obtained their state of buddhahood by the help of *Amita Buddha*, therefore *Amita Buddha* is called the chief of the buddhas.

"*Amita Buddha* always exercises his boundless mercy upon all creatures, and shows a great desire to help and influence all people who rely on him to complete all merits and be reborn into Paradise (*Nirvâna*).

"Our sect pays no attention to the other buddhas, and putting faith only in the great desire of *Amita Buddha*, expect to escape from this miserable world and to enter into Paradise in the next life. From the time of putting faith in the saving desire of Buddha,

we do not need any power of self help, but need only keep his mercy in heart and invoke his name in order to remember him. These doings we call: 'Thanksgiving for salvation.'

"In our sect we make no difference between priest and layman as concerns their way of obtaining salvation, the only difference being in their profession or business; and consequently the priest is allowed to marry and eat flesh, which is prohibited to the members of other Buddhist sects.

"Again, our sect forbids all prayers and supplications for happiness in the present life to any of the buddhas, even to Amita Buddha, because the events of the present life cannot be altered by the power of others; it teaches the followers of the sect to do their moral duty, loving each other, keeping order and the laws of the government. We have many writings stating the principles inculcated by our sect, but I give only the translation of the following creed, which was written by Rennyo Shōnin, who was the chief priest of the eighth generation from the founder.

"THE CREED OF SHINSHIU.

"Rejecting all religious austerities and other action, giving up all idea of self-power, we rely upon Amita Buddha, with the whole heart, for our salvation in the future life, which is the most important thing; believing that at the moment of putting our faith in Amita Buddha our salvation is settled. From that moment invocation of his name is observed to express gratitude and thankfulness for Buddha's mercy; moreover, being thankful for the reception of this doctrine from the founder and succeeding chief priests, whose teachings were so benevolent, and as welcome as light in a dark night, we must also keep the laws which are fixed for our duty during our whole life."

This statement, we cannot forget, faces toward the Occident. It does not fully satisfy us. Our minds press for something more definite, more in detail. Who is Amitabha? If he does not create or preserve, if he cannot help "in the events of this life," — a most important one of which is sin, — why should he be called God? and more especially why the "One God"? What does their "Bible" tell us about Amitabha? What gospel has it for mankind that makes it better for the Japanese or for any people than the Christian Scriptures? To answer these questions I have made the following free translation from the Muriyōjū Kyō, the most important of the Sukhavati Sutras, upon which this sect is based. Like the old palace in Kyoto, its chief interest to the

Occidental mind will be found to lie in its emptiness. A more literal translation would have only made this quality more apparent. In "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. v., will be found an abridgment of the same story.

It will be noticed that, in accordance with the Buddhist principle that every buddha becomes so only through his own exertions, this "One God" was, according to this "Bible," an ordinary human, and has simply worked and wished himself into the possession of all these infinite excellences.

The story runs as follows: Once when Sakyamuni was in Rajagriha, an innumerable company of disciples being gathered around him, his countenance was observed to possess an unusually brilliant appearance, shining, indeed, like a clear mirror, which reflects the objects before it in perfect outline and minute detail.

Whereupon, Ananda, cousin of the Sage, arose and worshiped him, and asked the cause of this remarkable change in his appearance: "Was he not in communication with the other innumerable buddha of the universe?"

The Sage replied to this by asking: "Is this question of yours, Ananda, something arising from your own heart alone, or is it by an inspiration from heaven that you ask this?"

Ananda replied that it was from his own heart that the question arose.

"That is admirable," exclaimed Sakya. "Now listen to me while I proceed to reveal another system of doctrine:—

"In the countless ages of the past the following named buddha existed. [Here follows a list of fifty-three buddha, ending with the Tathagata King Sejizai.]

"In the time of Sejizai Buddha, a certain king, Mushōnen by name, was filled with a desire for salvation, both for himself and others, and to this end he abandoned throne and kingdom, and became a priest under the name of Hōzō. This man greatly excelled in wisdom and courage. Not content with an ordinary degree of excellence, he besought Sejizai to teach him the way of becoming a buddha, promising to follow his instructions faithfully, and that in the heaven which he as a buddha would possess, even the cause of the ceaseless round of birth, sickness, suffering, and death should be unknown.

"Sejizai replied that the way of attaining this was already known to his disciple; but the latter said that this was such an exceedingly difficult task that his strength was insufficient for it, and he besought his teacher again to show him how the countless

buddha had attained their exalted state, and to reveal to him the condition of the heavens presided over by them respectively, that he, Hōzō, might be stimulated thereby to carry into execution all the desires of his heart.

"Sejizai, perceiving his unwavering purpose, said that just as a man might after an immense lapse of time succeed in dipping out all the waters of the great sea, so may one who with a true heart and with tireless effort seeks to become a buddha in due time accomplish his heart's purpose. He then revealed to Hōzō the nature and condition of the 21,000,000,000 heavens of the buddha, and all the countries of men.

"When Hōzō had seen the condition of all these buddha and their heavens and had profoundly meditated upon them, he went into the presence of Sejizai and made the following forty-eight vows, which he promised to perform if he should become a buddha:—

"1. In my country or heaven there shall be no hell, hungry demons, nor beasts.

"2. Those who once enter my country shall never return to an evil place.

"3. All the inhabitants of my country shall have faces of gold.

"4. There shall be no distinctions of color, form, or condition among the inhabitants of my country.

"5. They shall all have perfect knowledge of the past.

"6. They shall be all-seeing.

"7. They shall be all-hearing.

"8. They shall have a knowledge of all other hearts.

"9. They shall be swift-footed.

"10. They shall be free from selfish passion, care, and anxiety.

"11. They shall have the power of entering Nirvāna.

"12. My boundless light shall illumine all other countries.

"13. I (as Amitabha) shall live forever.

"14. The inhabitants of my country shall be infinite in number.

"15. They shall all possess eternal life.

"16. No evil shall exist in my country.

"17. All the countless buddhas of other countries shall unite in praising me.

"18. All beings who with sincere believing and consecrated hearts shall even once implore salvation from Amitābha shall receive it, but I will except those who have committed the 'five sins' (murder of parents, priests, etc.), and who scoff at the holy Buddhist religion.

"19. At the death of those who believe in me I will go to them and lead them to my country.

"20. Earnest believers in me shall be able to enter my country within three transmigrations.

"21. The thirty-two perfections of a buddha shall belong to all the inhabitants of my country.

"22. All bodhisattva shall on coming to my country become bodhisattva of the first rank.

"23. When they wish to render a service to any other buddha they shall be able to pass to the heaven of that buddha, howsoever distant, with the greatest rapidity, even during the time of eating a meal.

"24. Materials and utensils needed for the above service shall come into existence as soon as the need of them is suggested to the mind.

"25. The inhabitants of my country shall have and be able to communicate all knowledge.

"26. Their bodies shall be sound and perfect.

"27. They shall be able to see innumerable wonderful and beautiful things.

"28. They shall be able to see to the tops of the trees of my country, which are ten million miles high.

"29. They shall preach eloquently.

"30. Their wisdom and eloquence shall be infinite.

"31. My country shall be as a bright mirror to all other heavens.

"32. It shall be filled with all that is beautiful and its inhabitants shall possess the power of seeing in all the ten directions.

"33. My boundless light shall produce meekness and gentleness even among the people of other worlds.

"34. Those who simply hear my name shall become patient.

"35. *Although women may not be born into my country, yet the woman who hears the name of Amitabha, and is excited thereby to a hatred of the condition of a woman, and an earnest longing for salvation for herself and others, shall not be reborn as a woman.*

"36. The bodhisattva of my country shall easily become buddha.

"37. Joyfully believing and worshipping Amitabha and discharging the duties of a disciple, they shall be worshiped by all beings in heaven and earth.

"38. The inhabitants of my country shall have such clothing as they desire without the necessity of sewing or washing.

"39. Though receiving great happiness they shall not value that happiness unduly.

"40. They shall be able to see the heavens of all other buddha as they may desire.

"41. The bodhisattva of all other countries who hear the name of Amitabha shall have unlimited power in the use of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind.

"42. At their very thought of making offerings to other innumerable buddha such offerings will be made.

"43. They shall be reborn as persons of exalted rank.

"44. They shall lay perfectly the foundations of virtue.

"45. They shall gain immediately the power of seeing all other buddha.

"46. Their power of hearing shall be equally unlimited.

"47. The bodhisattva of other countries who hear my name shall never sink to a lower condition.

"48. They shall not sink even as respects the doctrines and laws of other buddha.

"After Hōzō had made these vows, the earth quaked, flowers rained from heaven, superhuman music was heard, and a voice came from heaven saying, 'Thou shalt most assuredly become a buddha.'

"From this time Hōzō earnestly sought to become a buddha, performing many wonderful and praiseworthy deeds as a bodhisattva."

When Sakyamuni had proceeded thus far in his account, Ananda asked him whether Hōzō had already become a buddha or not. To which it was replied, "He is already a buddha and dwells in his paradise An Raku, which is ten billion heavens to the west of us."

"How long since he became a buddha?"

"Ten *kalpa*. In that country, there is no change of seasons, no hell, and no Sumeru mountain; but it is filled with natural ornaments of gold and silver."

"But how can the various heavens exist if there be no Sumeau mountain?"

"That is indeed mysterious."

"My question was not from any doubt in my own mind but for the sake of those who shall come afterward."

Sakya replied: "The light of Amitabha greatly exceeds that of all other buddha and illumines the whole universe; all who receive it become meek and joyful doers of good. In his heaven

everything is according to the desires. If the inhabitants wish to eat, vessels of the seven precious stones appear, filled with the food desired. It is not necessary to eat, as even the sight and smell of food satisfy hunger; and the food and vessels again vanish. There are trees of the seven precious stones, and lakes whose waters and shores are of the same substances. The body sinks into the lake as far as the ankles, knees, or waist, according to the mind's desire, and the sound of the waves is as the voice of Buddha, a voice of thought or of mercy. Hence it is called the *Happy Land of the West*. Although its inhabitants are called by different names, as men, bodhisattva, etc., they do not hold different ranks, but all alike possess eternal and ineffable bodies."

I have called this Buddhism's best gospel because it promises most to needy men, and is the doctrine most widely accepted by Buddhists.

As to its authenticity Professor Max Müller says, "Buddha himself, I feel convinced, never knew even the names of Amitabha and his Paradise."

M. L. Gordon.

DOSHISHA SCHOOL, KYOTO, JAPAN.

EDITORIAL.

KEEPING LABORERS FROM THE HARVEST: THE CASE OF
MR. HUME.

THE management of the American Board has been doing its utmost for several months to discourage offers of service from young men and women who venture to hope that the Saviour who died for all will be offered to all, or who refuse to dogmatize on this subject. A further application of this policy has just been made to a missionary who was about returning to his work after a needed furlough. We desire to call attention to this transaction. It appeals urgently for judgment. We ask from the Christian public a candid consideration of the facts. We ask this in the interest of Christian missions and of the American Board, which has been an honored agency in conducting them; in the interest also of truth and justice and coöperation in Christian work. We ask it most seriously and earnestly.

The Rev. Robert A. Hume is the son of missionary parents. His father lost his life in the service of the Board. Two sons and a daughter are now connected with one of its missions in India. The sons, with energy and self-denial, worked their way to the completion in this country of a professional education, made provision for others dependent upon them, and then gave themselves to the work of the Board. Rev. Robert A. Hume is now in the thirteenth year of such service. He has proved himself one of the most efficient missionaries of the Board. He never was more needed at his post than now. A lack of continuity in missionary occupancy is always one of the most serious obstacles to progress. The Marathi mission has suffered severely from this cause. At Ahmednagar, where Mr. Hume has been stationed, there has been a good degree of continuity, and with gratifying results. Mr. Hume has been specially enthusiastic and effective, working unceasingly, interesting Englishmen in his labors, obtaining funds, superintending evangelistic work, helping to found and develop a theological seminary, editing a weekly newspaper which circulates among the educated natives. He saw the missionary force dwindling. Vacancies which occurred were not filled. Others were impending. To hold its own the corps needed to be doubled. The seminary at one time had twenty-three pupils who were educating for the Christian ministry. It is now closed, owing to the necessary absence of Dr. Bissell and Mr. Hume. There is not to-day a young man within the entire bounds of the mission in training for the native pastorate. Mr. Hume came to this country for rest, but also on a mission. He wanted men. He bent his energies to the task of securing them. He visited a number of theological seminaries, addressed the students, talked with them privately and personally, learned what problems they are grappling with, what motives are influencing them, what

is indicated as to the sources from which in the immediate future the stream of missionary activity is likely to be replenished. He found in these institutions generally a revival of interest in missionary work. At New Haven one man of special promise turned his thoughts directly to India,¹ and others were moved to special thoughtfulness. At Andover there was encouragement that reinforcements would be forthcoming. Being called upon unexpectedly to speak there at the Anniversary dinner, and rising with scarcely any opportunity for premeditation, his thoughts naturally took their turn and coloring from the immediate occasion and from his experience in seeking for men to go out as fellow-missionaries.² He said:—

"We are looking to this seminary to help us in our missionary work in all respects. Some of us feel that we are being helped already by influence which comes from here. A full and universal atonement by Christ has its natural and logical conclusion in a universal providence through Christ. I believe that this is going to help us in our missionary work. It is not mere speculation on idle questions as to what becomes of the ancestors of those to whom we carry the

¹ This gentleman applied for appointment nearly six months ago, but has not yet been accepted. He is President of the Society of Inquiry in Yale Theological Seminary, a licentiate of a Congregational Association whose most conservative members joined in approving his examination, and his testimonials presented to the Committee were of an unusually high order. The cause of the delay is his adherence to this statement: "I am not prepared to affirm that those are lost who do not receive the gospel in this life. I do not believe that the Bible teaches such a doctrine. I do believe that the general tenor of the Biblical teaching is that 'now is the day of salvation,' and that teaching it is my purpose to teach. All I mean with reference to the hypothesis of a second [?] probation is that I do not know. Practically, it affects neither my belief nor my teaching."

The Committee insisted on a conference, although, after the lapse of several months, the candidate, who was in Illinois, asked for a decision of his case, and affirmed his inability to modify his statement. The *Manual* says: "The first [the appointment] will be decided as soon as possible after the necessary papers are complete."

² We take the liberty, in this connection, of making an extract from a private letter from Mr. Hume to a friend in the western part of Massachusetts. It has come into our hands without the writer's knowledge. Referring to his remarks at Andover he says: "For months I had been going about trying to get men for missionary work. I had seen men turned aside from offering themselves for the service of the Board because they felt that candidates were being treated with suspicion. When I went to Andover, in one day I saw four good men who said that they had been interested in missionary work and might have offered themselves to the Board, if it did not seem useless to do so. I encouraged them to apply, but felt very much grieved. So did other missionaries."

"I did not know till a few moments before we sat down to the Alumni dinner that I should be asked to speak. I prepared no remarks, but sought to avoid criticising any one, and to avoid the use of such words as 'probation,' about which there is controversy."

gospel. It is, I can assure you from an experience of twelve years, an every-day question to us, and requires an answer which it has been very difficult to give. I know I have gone home with a heavy heart, and often dim eyes, because the gospel of love and mercy which I was seeking to give to these men was followed by a feeling of bitterness in their hearts, because they thought it implied an eternity of sorrow for their ancestors. It is a live question and must be met in a Christian way. I can say, not only for myself, but for a considerable number of workers in the field, that we believe there is light in this matter. It is a practical question, which we believe is going to receive from this source a more Christian and helpful solution. It has been my privilege to meet in the last few months five of the largest theological seminaries in our country. We applied to all these to help us in our work. In no one have we found more missionary spirit than in Andover, where this phase of Christian thinking is especially held. By the fruits ye may judge the tree."

For these few words, which, coming spontaneously from the heart, touched the hearts of those who heard them, he was at once made the object of a severe attack in a leading denominational organ. "His drift," it was alleged, referring to the remarks we have quoted, "was clearly toward the position that, for a missionary to be able to tell the heathen that their ancestors are undoubtedly enjoying a *further and better* [italics ours] probation in the next life," etc., etc.; winding up with a reference to Universalism! Mr. Hume at once became an object of suspicion. He was informed that protests had been sent to the Rooms against his continuance in the service of the Board, but he was not furnished with the names of the gentlemen who were thus attacking him, though he asked for them, nor with their reasons. The senior Foreign Secretary became aware that Mr. Hume's return to India would be resisted. He felt deeply the exigencies of the work intrusted to his special oversight. Usually the Board desires to expedite the return of men to their work. No special permission is needed. Early in the summer Mr. Hume had been urged to go back this autumn. But, as the time approached, the Secretary thought it expedient to bring the matter formally before the Committee. It was considered at two sessions, and concluded by the adoption of a recommendation from a sub-committee that action be deferred. Three members of the Committee voted in the negative, seven in the affirmative. The position of the senior Secretary of the Board is well known. Mr. Hume has served under his immediate supervision, with what fidelity and efficiency any man can learn by addressing the Secretary. Before asking permission for Mr. Hume to resume his work the Secretary read to the Committee the following communication:—

WARREN, PA., July 27, 1886.

Rev. N. G. Clark, D. D., Sec. A. B. C. F. M.

MY DEAR DR. CLARK:—In accordance with your suggestion, I hereby state the motives which fill my whole soul with an intense desire to continue my life-work as a missionary in India.

1. Every year I appreciate more and more what it means to have that living connection with my Lord which He described as the relation of the branch to

the vine, and to have it Christ for me to live. It means to have his opinions my opinions and his wishes my wishes by his living in me and making my mind and will and whole being his own. By his incarnation, life, teachings, and death He showed that his great desire is to build up the kingdom of God by saving from sin and then making like unto Himself every human being. Therefore, though He had not given me any command, I can humbly say that the controlling wish of my heart is to go where others cannot or do not go, and to tell men of his love and power, until He see of the travail of his soul and is satisfied. But, in addition, there is his plain command to go and preach the gospel to every creature.

2. Every year I appreciate more and more the person and work of the Holy Spirit. His abiding presence and guidance are as real to me as any facts and experiences of life. I think of Him as brooding over every one in the world and longing to take of the things of Christ and with these to regenerate every unregenerate soul. As I have the things of Christ which He has given me, I desire to be his instrument in giving the same unspeakable blessing to those who do not have it.

3. Though my parents consecrated me to the missionary service from my childhood, yet when I entered college it was my ambition to be a lawyer and to engage in political life. But in college there came to me a call to missionary work, which seemed a divine commission, and this has been my passion ever since. Scores of times I have used the words, "Robert A. Hume, by the will of God missionary to India." Not the opposition of men, but some clear divine guidance alone will ever change the conviction of my heart that that commission was for life.

4. As to the state of the heathen, not only my reverent confidence in the Bible, but my missionary experience, makes me know that the description of their condition, in the first chapter of Romans, is truthful. It is an awful condition of perishing in sin, from which there is no escape in time or eternity except by the Holy Spirit's applying to their hearts the life that is in Christ. Their degradation and sin awaken compassion in my heart, which has caused me to know some travail of soul, that they might be born again. There are individuals in India for whose salvation I feel an intense desire, and who are more likely to be influenced by me than by any one else.

5. I have the language and some other fitness for missionary work, which make my missionary associates and the native Christians earnestly desire my return. My brethren in the field are fainting at their posts and eagerly waiting for me and others to come to their relief.

6. Finally, for every man to whom I can speak, I have but the one message of salvation through Christ alone, to be accepted or rejected now.

I am yours faithfully,

R. A. HUME.

A member of the Committee, who listened to the reading of this letter, to Dr. Clark's accompanying testimony to Mr. Hume's fidelity, and to the rendering of opinions which followed, has said that "on returning to his home at night-fall and for hours he was haunted with the feeling of being at the crucifixion, and he could only find relief in the prayer from the cross: 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.'" How the act which has been accomplished strikes a mind dwelling apart from the stir and strife of this controversy may be seen in the following words addressed to one of the editors of this "Review."

OAK KNOLL, DANVERS, 9 Mo. 16, 1886.

DEAR FRIEND :— I have read thy letter, and that of the Missionary Hume, with mingled feelings of sorrow and anger. . . .

The issue is now fairly joined ; you have the strongest possible case to go before the Christian public with ; you have God's Word, and the prayers and hopes, open or secret, of all Christ-like souls with you, and you cannot fail. . . .

I am very truly and heartily thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

We doubt not that the judgment here passed upon the action of the Committee will be the final one of the Christian reason and heart.

The letter of the clerk of the Committee sheds no light upon the reasons for its action, although Mr. Hume had written as follows :—

"I cannot bring myself to believe that the Prudential Committee could decide to dismiss me. But in these days of excitement, if they should take action looking in this direction, I request a statement as to the way in which I have for the past twelve years served our Master in connection with the Board, in respect to faithfulness, spirit, and success.

"Also, in the above contingency, I request a definite statement of the reasons for dismissal."

The letter which he received reads thus :—

BOSTON, September 15, 1886.

Rev. Robert A. Hume, 24 Home Place.

MY DEAR MR. HUME :— Dr. Clark has requested me to write you in behalf of him, informing you that the correspondence in relation to your return within a few weeks to your field of labor was presented yesterday afternoon to the Prud. Com., and after a full and sympathetic expression of opinion, it was voted by a large majority that action be deferred.

In response to Dr. Clark's request, I therefore simply announce this fact as clerk of the Com.

I remain yours truly,

E. K. ALDEN, Clerk of Com.

Though the Committee has not given its reasons, there is no question as to their nature. They relate solely to Mr. Hume's opinions which were intimated or expressed in his few remarks at Andover. Knowing what misconceptions had gained currency, the senior Foreign Secretary requested Mr. Hume to put in writing what he was willing to be understood as holding. He did so, in a paper which was read to the Prudential Committee at the second of the sessions to which we have referred, and which we will now give, premising that Mr. Hume himself has not sought in any way or degree to put his case before the Christian public, and that we alone are responsible for this appeal.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., August 27, 1886.

Rev. N. G. Clark, D. D., Sec. A. B. C. F. M.

MY DEAR DR. CLARK :— In accordance with your request I herewith state my views on the questions of eschatology which are now under general discussion, that they may be available for presentation to the Prudential Committee, if this should seem necessary. If you should do this, please present at the

same time my statement, recently sent you, giving the reasons for my conviction that I should continue my missionary work in India.

In reference to the substance of all doctrines about God and about man in his present and future state, the Bible is to me the decisive authority. Not only for the substance, but for the proportions of various doctrines, and for their best expression, the Bible is to me the chief source of instruction. In regard to man's sin, and his salvation from sin or punishment for it, the Bible teaches almost exclusively what is necessary to aid men in understanding their privileges and in doing their present duties. Hence it makes prominent only such things as men need now to know.

1. In regard to the doctrines now under consideration, the first point which the Bible makes prominent is the universal sinfulness and consequent lost condition of all mankind. All men know that there is a God, and knowing either from the law of conscience or from the law of Scripture many things which grieve God and which they ought not to do, they nevertheless do these things. Hence every man is guilty before God and without excuse. Hence, as far as guilt and justice alone are concerned, there is none righteous, none lives up to his light; and on the basis of works none can be saved.

2. Over against this universal sinfulness of mankind the Bible makes prominent as a second point God's provision for the salvation of every man through the life and death of Jesus Christ, if he will only believe. Of the intensity of God's desire to save every man, we can only have a faint conception. That desire is so intense that God gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. His effort to seek and to save all who are lost is so great that He can even say to every one, "What could have been done more that I have not done?" In the darkness of sin Christ is the true Light which lighteth every man coming into the world. And Christ has been appointed the Judge at the last day, as it were to emphasize the fact that every one who remains lost is forever lost because he would not come to Christ that he might have eternal life.

3. In order to make Christ's vicarious atonement effective on those for whom He made it, and thus to regenerate sinners, and then to build them up in grace, God has sent his Holy Spirit to abide in the world, to take of the things of Christ, and through them to make salvation available for every man. "By the law"—of Scripture and conscience—"is the knowledge of sin," i. e. of transgressing God's wishes. Hence the chief work of the Holy Spirit is to convince the world of sin, i. e., particularly the sin of not believing on the Christ who longs to save them, or to lead them to believe in Him; of righteousness, i. e., the holiness of God as revealed in Christ, and the justifying righteousness of Christ available by men through faith in Him, shown by Christ's resurrection and ascension to the Father; of judgment, i. e., the severance between the righteous and between the unrighteous, who must go to the place where the prince of this world is; and also to develop all grace in the believer.

4. The fourth truth which the Bible makes prominent in this connection is that, though God has through his Son and his Spirit made provision for the salvation of every man, yet in order to be saved, any man must follow the promptings of the Holy Spirit, repent, and believe in Christ, or remain lost; and that just as the result of accepting Christ is everlasting salvation, so the result of resisting the Spirit and rejecting Christ is everlasting punishment. For a soul even once to resist the Holy Spirit's influence is very dangerous; to con-

time to do so is to put one's self beyond pardon. The final state of every one will be announced and irrevocably settled by Christ at the great judgment day.

5. In order that these all-important truths may be known and acted on by the world which is dying in sin, Christ has commanded his disciples to go into all the world and proclaim these tidings. That the dear Lord who has done so much to save them may see of the travail of his soul for all others also, and may be satisfied, every consideration of love and loyalty and gratitude to Him, and of pity for their fellow-men who are perishing in sin, should lead Christ's disciples promptly to do their utmost to take the gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth.

These are the truths which the Bible seems to me to make prominent in the matter of men's sin and possible salvation. They are the truths which I make prominent in my preaching at home and abroad. In regard to escape from sin and growth in grace and every duty, *I always and everywhere preach to every one that NOW is the accepted time.*

The request for my view on the question whether the issues of this life are certainly final for every one, and in particular for all those who are not infants nor idiots, and who have never heard of Christ in this world, requires me to say that the Bible does not seem to me to give such information as to warrant such an affirmation. The Bible distinctly says that Christ is the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, that the Holy Spirit's work is to convince the world of believing or not believing in Christ, and that Christ is to be the Judge at the judgment day, when He will doubtless make a Christ-like judgment. When, where, and how Christ enlightens those who do not hear of Him through preaching or through the Bible; when, where, and how the Holy Spirit convinces such men of the sin of rejecting Christ or leads them to believe in Him; that the final condition of all the heathen is so irrevocably fixed at their death, that when they stand for judgment before the Christ who gave his life to become the Saviour of every man who is willing to be saved He can ask them, "What more could have been done for your salvation than has been done?" — the Bible does not seem to me to say. But since Christ is to be the Judge at the last day, this light must have been given before He announces the results of that judgment, the issues of which will be irrevocable.

The above statement seems to me to be in substance, in proportions, and in expression, my belief on questions of eschatology. I hope it will seem satisfactory to the Prudential Committee. Yet, if any point should not seem entirely satisfactory, the practical question seems to me to be, not whether the Prudential Committee are required in any way to indorse any defectiveness which may be thought to exist, but whether it disqualifies me from preaching the gospel to the heathen. The Prudential Committee retains in the service of the Board, and has recently sent back to their fields, missionaries who hold the premillennarian view of Christ's coming. This view is not held by the majority of the churches which support the Board, and probably not by the Prudential Committee. In employing such missionaries the Prudential Committee probably do not consider that they have indorsed the premillennarian views. They have simply satisfied themselves that those whom they send out, while holding such views, will faithfully deliver Christ's message to the heathen. That message, as I understand it, is: "There is none other name than that of Jesus Christ whereby men can be saved. Now is the accepted time. He that believeth

shall be saved ; he that disbelieveth shall be condemned." This message I shall always and everywhere preach to all.

I am yours faithfully,

R. A. HUME.

We add one letter nearly in full, and a portion of another, which were read to the Committee, and extracts from two private letters.

NEW HAVEN, September 6, 1866.

Rev. N. G. Clark, D. D., Sec. A. B. C. F. M.

MY DEAR DR. CLARK :—As I have received no reply from you since I sent the statement of my theological views, it seems probable that the Prudential Committee are considering what decision to make in regard to me. Therefore I send one more communication.

1. I beg that no one will think that there may be in my mind anything on the topics concerned that I have not expressed in my statement. You know that I am accustomed to speak without concealment or reserve. So little does speculation on the question, how those will be judged who do not hear of Christ in this world, enter into my thoughts that I should not have referred to this in my statement, if my opinion on the point had not been definitely requested.

As this is so, and as I have unreservedly said that my only message to every man is, "There is none other name than that of Jesus Christ whereby we must be saved : Now is the accepted time : He that believeth shall be saved ; he that disbelieveth shall be condemned" (Rev. Version), it seems to me that if I have been faithful in the past and give the above assurance for the future, then to turn me out from the work in which missionaries are most urgently needed, because some fear that I might deliver another message, would be something like punishing a faithful agent for what he had not done, and what he said he should not do.

2. I trust that careful consideration will be given to the probable effect of my dismissal, on our mission. You will remember that only a few months ago, when you and Drs. Alden and Thompson and Rev. Mr. Thwing listened to an appeal for reinforcements to our mission, you expressed the conviction that our mission needs to have its forces *doubled* just to keep it in proper condition for present work. . . . Two of our few missionary families must soon come home on furlough. And now to tell that mission which is so weak and somewhat discouraged for lack of reinforcements, that one of their own number, on whom they rely, had been turned off, would be to grieve and greatly dishearten them.

3. Moreover, there are the heathen, who are continuing in sin and hardening into sinful characters, and falling into greater exposure to eternal punishment, over some of whom, on account of acquaintance and language and experience, etc., I have special influence, to whom I could and would preach the gospel of Christ, unless I were prevented from doing this. Even to suggest such a thought to such an earnest Christian body as the Prudential Committee, whose one aim is to send the gospel to as many of the heathen as possible, seems like a work of supererogation. But those heathen and the partially instructed native Christians are greatly on my heart.

Praying that we may all be guided aright in the decision about my return, and expecting that it will be one of trust in me, I am yours faithfully,

R. A. HUME.

Under date of July 7, Mr. Hume wrote to Dr. Clark : —

"In view of the recent editorial in the 'Congregationalist' some persons will naturally misunderstand my position. Several things in that editorial misrepresent me. I do not believe that there is a future better gospel for any man, than that which Christ commands us to give to all men now ; nor do I seek to devise a gospel which shall be acceptable to the heathen, different in any particular from that which is contained in the New Testament. I only desire to be careful not to load that gospel with any message of condemnation which our Lord has not put into it. The report of my remarks at Andover on the first page of the 'Congregationalist' is fair ; but some of the inferences in the editorial are unfair and untrue.

"That you may understand just where I stand, I will make a few statements. I do not call myself and do not wish to be called by any new name. I hold every doctrine which I ever held. But, as is to be expected, a longer Christian experience and my missionary work have given me a larger and more reverent appreciation of the work of both Christ and the Holy Spirit. I realize more and more that God is Christ-like, and will do what we see from Christ that He will do. I know that men are perishing in sin and that there is no possible salvation to any one except through the Lord Jesus Christ. Such words as 'the light that lighteth *every* man that cometh into the world,' and 'that by the grace of God He should taste death for *every* man' make it clearer to me than ever before that there is a *gospel* for *every* man. The one clear way revealed in the Scriptures by which any man is to receive that gospel is by its being preached to him. Hence every consideration requires us to give all men this gospel as soon as we can. Since men are going on in sin and forming sinful characters, a single day's delay may be most disastrous. But, since there is a gospel for *every* man, there must be some presentation of it to every man by the Holy Spirit at some time or place. That to those who do not learn of it from Christ's messengers here this presentation is only by what is termed the light of nature I do not understand the Bible to teach. But since Christ is to be the Judge at the final judgment, He will make a Christ-like judgment, and will not appear as judge to any one to whom He has not become known as a possible Saviour. The sad truth is revealed that some will be found to have rejected Him, for whom eternal punishment is reserved, as certainly as eternal salvation for those who have accepted Him."

Again, to a friend, under date of September 9 : —

"As to how those will be judged who do not hear of Christ in this world, I simply say that I think the Bible does not tell. It does say that Christ is the true light which enlighteneth *every* man that cometh into the world, and that Christ is the Judge of all. Hence it seems to me not an improper inference that if any man has not had in this world such light as is referred to by Christ's lighting *every* man, etc., then he will have it before seeing Christ as Judge. But how much light is enough for this, and where, when, or how he will have that light, the Bible does not say. But the issues of the judgment will be irrevocable, and will be eternal punishment to some, and eternal life to others. I do not give time or prominence to this subject, but everywhere and always preach that *now* is the accepted time."

Again, to a member of the Committee, September 4 : —

"I very, very much hope that the Prudential Committee will not prevent

my return to India. Ask them not to stop me through *fear* of what change of belief and earnestness *may* perhaps come to me some time, but on what I heartily and unreservedly undertake to preach because I believe it. And ask them *who* will be in a measure responsible for the continuation in sin, and in *their* judgment, for the *certainty* of *eternal punishment*, of those to whom I long to go, and over whom I have more influence than any other living being, if I am prevented from giving them the gospel of Christ? In my solemn conviction those heathen will be *far more likely* to be eternally lost, through continuing in sin and not having the gospel of Christ; because I do not know of any one else who will go, if I am obliged to stay at home, nor does any one else know. Why will good men *read into* our beliefs things which we do not believe? Because I do not understand the Bible to say what God will or will not do for those whom we Christians neglect, why am I made to appear to believe that there is a better gospel hereafter, and even that there will be a greater hope for the salvation of the heathen if we do not give them the gospel now, but leave them to what God may do in the future? — while these heathen are going on in the path of sin?"

One other letter should be added. It is from the Rev. Dr. Bissell, now in this country, but expecting soon to return to India. Dr. Bissell has been a missionary of the American Board for thirty-five years.

MILAN, O., September 7, 1886.

Rev. Dr. Clark, Sec. A. B. C. F. M.

MY DEAR SIR : — Rev. R. A. Hume of our mission, in a recent letter to me, writes that he sent a statement to you not long since, in which he had occasion to say that his missionary associates and the native Christians earnestly desire his return to India : and he inquires if, so far as I know, he was warranted in making such a statement. I have no hesitation in saying that it is *my earnest desire and prayer* that he may return, and resume the work which he carried on so efficiently up to the time of his leaving. I confidently believe that every member of the Marathi mission would say the same thing : and that the native Christians also desire that Mr. Hume may return ; and that both they and the missionaries consider his labors in the mission of great value.

I may add that the greatly reduced state of the mission, and the failure to secure reinforcements, emphasize strongly the importance of the return of all its absent members whose health is restored, and whose circumstances admit of their returning.

Very sincerely yours,

L. BISSELL.

The important facts in this case are now stated. The Christian public will judge the policy now intrenched in the Prudential Committee room by its fruits. It has begun its career by refusing or discouraging new applications. It is now striking down tried and faithful missionaries. Like the fatal power personified by the poet, it "loves a shining mark." It has rejected some of the choicest young men and women three leading institutions on which the Board depends for its missionaries can supply. It is now forbidding to return to his work, at a time of very special need, one of the best missionaries of the Board, who affirms that he holds to-day every doctrine which he ever held, and has simply learned to realize more and more that God is Christ-like. It is a policy whose next

step must be to recall missionaries now in the field, and whose immediate and necessary fruits are a reduction of forces already far too feeble, a curtailment of work where such a process imperils what has been won, and a lowering of the standard and quality of service.

Shall such a policy be sustained? Do the free Congregational churches of this country believe in keeping back such a man as Mr. Hume? Do they wish to deny to missionaries what they grant to their pastors? Are they ready to take the responsibility of withholding from service men whom by all the signs of spiritual earnestness and power God has called, and who offer themselves, moved as they believe by the Spirit of God, and in love to Christ and their fellow-men, to go to the heathen to preach Christ and Him only?

It is said that the suspicion of laxity in doctrine, even though unjust, will repel some conservative donors. This is a double-edged sword. It is wise not to handle it. The argument always springs up when a contest arises for principle. The answer given by a missionary of the Board is conclusive — "The Board wants MEN!"

HARMONY IN A MISSION.

In a pamphlet recently published in defense of the policy just at present ascendant at the Rooms of the American Board, much stress is laid upon the necessity of harmony in a mission. The application is to the question of accepting candidates, or retaining missionaries, who do not agree to the dogma which has been elevated to the rank of an article of faith by Secretary Alden and a majority of the Prudential Committee, although it was purposely excluded by the national Commission of the Congregational Churches from the creed which it published, and from the Doctrinal Basis of the Association of the Congregational Churches in Ohio, and is nowhere insisted upon, the land over, in the ordination of Congregational ministers.

But our present object is not to show the inconclusiveness of the argument as there presented because of its doctrinal assumptions or its failure to consider essential facts. We would simply remind those who are pressing it against the return of Mr. Hume or the appointment of students from Andover or Yale or elsewhere who may agree with him, that they overlook entirely the actual situation. Grant the necessity of harmony, and what does it conclude? The necessity of keeping back Mr. Hume? Not at all. Dr. Bissell, in a letter we have already quoted, testifies that the entire Marathi Mission are ready to welcome Mr. Hume. The disturbance of harmony is simply an unfounded assumption on the part of certain gentlemen, several of whom, curiously enough, have recently extended ministerial fellowship to a clergyman of much the same way of thinking with Mr. Hume. If the matter were not so serious it would be laughable. Mr. Hume, forsooth, cannot be returned lest it will disturb the harmony of a mission, all of whom know and honor him, and are eager to welcome him back. And yet the same gentlemen who are

so concerned for purity of doctrine as a basis of harmony in missions give the right hand of ministerial fellowship to a pastor in their own neighborhood whose opinions are quite as variant from theirs as Mr. Hume's.

But this is only a small part of the case. The discussions in the Committee or out of it have related to six persons. Three thus involved have had India in view, three Japan. Now it so happens,—the coincidence is not intentional,—that satisfactory evidence is at hand of a practical unanimity in the India and Japan missions of the Board as to this question of welcoming the kind of men the Committee is rejecting, holding back, or discouraging.

We commend to attention the following letter, first published in the "Boston Journal," written by the Rev. Otis Cary, Jr., a missionary of the Board in Japan. The letter is approved by nearly all his associates.

"American Christians know something of the important changes that are taking place in Japan. They cannot, however, realize as do those who are on the ground the importance of seizing the present opportunity for hastening the evangelization of the land. The future of Japan, whether it shall be a land of Protestant Christianity, of Roman Catholicism, or of infidelity, depends largely on what shall be done during the next few years.

"For a long time promising openings for new work have pressed themselves on the attention of the missionaries of the American Board. We have longed to enter fields that seemed white for the harvest, we have frequently written earnest appeals that new men hasten to our assistance, we have prayed to the Lord of the harvest that He would send laborers; yet, instead of an increase of force, we have seen death enter our ranks, we have seen sickness compel either the temporary or the permanent withdrawal from the land of many of our company, until at the present time the number of workers is less than it was seven years ago. Then we had upon the ground seventeen male missionaries; to-day we have but twelve; or, including those of the North Japan Mission, fourteen.

"At last it seemed as though our prayers to God and our entreaties to men were about to be answered. We heard that there were in one of the theological seminaries several students whose attention had been strongly drawn to our field. We trusted that it was the Lord of the harvest who had called them, and our hearts were filled with joy. A new disappointment awaited us. We hear that some, perhaps all, of these men of whom we speak will not be allowed to come to us. Is it because they were not called of God? That reason has not been given. Is it because the condition of Japan has so changed that there is no need of their help? On the contrary, we have during the last two or three months by letters and telegrams signified to the Board that we must at once have help in order to take up work which the officers of the Board have themselves urged upon us. Why, then, do not the men come? Reports which are apparently well attested say that some have been rejected because they believe that heathen who do not hear of Christ in this life may have a future probation."

"The present writer is not a believer in the new theory. It has seemed to him that one serious objection to it is that its acceptance would keep back men from engaging in missionary work. That argument is now taken away, or

rather it is turned against those who offer it ; for if reports are true it is those who *deny* a future probation who keep men back from mission fields. Those who are doing this are doubtless acting under the very best motives, but do they realize the fearful responsibility that they are assuming ? If those of us who hold by the old theories are correct, then these millions of Japanese have only this life in which to obtain salvation ; and in all human probability the keeping back of men who desire to preach to them the gospel will prevent many thousands from hearing it before they die.

"If, all things considered, the interests of Christ's kingdom demand such a course, let it be taken ; but let it first be thoroughly realized what enormous sacrifices are involved. If our theory, and the practical results that will come from vigorously upholding it, are worth more than these thousands of souls for whose salvation Christ died ; worth more than the speedy evangelization of Japan ; worth more than the peace and unity of the Congregational churches ; worth more than the prosperity of the Board, which must suffer great evils if its constituency divides on this question ; then let us push our theory even to the extent of losing all these things which seem of such inestimable value ; only let us, before we do it, sit down, or rather stand up, face to face with a perishing world, and count the cost.

"For one, the writer of this article is ready, *provided the rejected men are, in other respects, satisfactory*, to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in advancing against a common foe. He is assured, too, that most of his associates will gladly do the same. It is easy to see how a man who makes the theory of future probation such a hobby that he must always be arguing the question might introduce an element of discord that would diminish rather than increase our strength. We should be sorry to have such a person come, just as we should regret the coming of any of those advocates of the older views, who, always donning the war-paint, would spend their time and strength in attacking the Andover theology.

"Those who hold the new view concerning future probation as only a theory of subsidiary importance, and who are so earnest to fight the enemy that they cannot stop to fight their brethren, would be useful allies whom we cannot, in the present crisis, afford to reject. At the very least, men ought not to be kept back from us simply because they refuse to affirm that the Bible so positively settles the question as not to leave the least ground for hope that there may be a future opportunity for those who, in this life, never hear of Christ.

"KOBÉ, JAPAN."

THE NATURE OF "THE ATTACK UPON THE AMERICAN BOARD."

WHEN a term is used in serious discussion for popular effect it is well to analyze it. The authors of it may be expected to welcome any fair exposition of its meaning, and the public certainly has the right to endeavor to ascertain its sense or its relevancy to the issue which called it forth.

The phrase which we have quoted above has been put into circulation of late in the interest of those who are enforcing by a succession of votes a certain policy of administration for the American Board. What does the phrase mean as interpreted by the facts which may be supposed to have suggested it?

So far as we are advised, the "attack" upon the Board has been of a twofold nature, consisting, first, in the application of candidates for missionary service under the Board, and second, in the discussion of principles of administration growing out of the rejection or suspension of these candidates.

We must ask, in the first instance, in what sense the application of candidates for missionary service was in intention or in fact an "attack" upon the Board. Let us briefly recall the cases. In the spring or summer of 1885 a young lady applied from one of the Eastern colleges. In the spring of 1886 three young men applied from two of the Eastern theological seminaries. And more recently a missionary of twelve years' standing in the service asked to be returned to his field of labor. What designs had these persons upon the Board? It has not been customary to speak of overtures for service as an "attack" upon the Board. In what sense is the term now employed to designate the offer of the persons to whom we have referred? We confess our inability to discover the relevancy of the term to the present issue. If it is relevant it is painfully suggestive as to the attitude of the Prudential Committee toward the consecrated life of our churches.

What, then, shall we say as to the discussion of principles consequent upon the treatment of the cases under consideration? We will ask whether such a discussion is of the nature of an attack. We will ask further whether it is wise to so characterize it. When counsels are divided, what course should be taken save that of full and free discussion? Has a minority no right to state its case? Are questions affecting the rights of persons, the relations of the churches, the interests of truth, to be settled by secret votes without an open appeal? When did the American Board cease to allow the discussion of its official policy? If this course is to be determined upon it is well for its constituency to know what can be said without constituting an offense. It is certainly well to know whether the criticism of its management at any given time is to be construed into an "attack" upon the Board.

Beyond the facts which we have mentioned we see nothing to suggest the phrase to which we have called attention. We submit whether these facts warrant the invention of a term to prejudice a serious case in the public mind.

THE POLICY OF SUPPRESSION.

THE refusal of the Prudential Committee of the American Board to appoint certain applicants for missionary service calls for extended consideration at this time, when the Board itself is likely soon to be appealed to for authoritative instructions. We therefore devote our editorial pages to the subject, both on account of its intrinsic importance for all friends of missions, and also in order that, so far as it is in our power to discover them, none of the issues and results involved may be overlooked. One probable

result of the action thus far taken is to discourage all others, who agree in opinion with those who have been rejected, from applying for appointment. It can scarcely be doubted, in view of all that has been said, that there are several who desire to become foreign missionaries, but who have made no request for appointment because they believe it would be useless. They have no reason to expect any other reply than the no longer delusive sentence, — "*Voted* : that it is inexpedient to appoint at present ;" *at present* meaning so long as the applicant persists in his present opinions. The Secretaries and Committee are perfectly aware that a considerable number of earnest Christian disciples would ask for appointment at once, if it should be decided to commission the three or four whose cases have been acted on adversely. There is therefore a greater loss to the Board of consecrated personal service than the official records show, and this threatened loss should be recognized in that thorough and candid consideration of the subject which is now expected of the Board itself. The denial of appointment to the few who have thus far been refused means to the Committee and Secretaries the suppression of a larger number. The significant decisions already given must suppress further applications of the same sort. We are so confident that this result is clearly foreseen by the Committee that we do not hesitate to call it a *policy* of suppression. These refusals are intended to prevent other men and women of similar views from presenting themselves. There is a policy which has in view other persons than those whose requests have actually come to the Committee. It is not unlikely, also, that the policy has in view the suppression of that portion, be it small or large, of the constituency of the Board, which is in practical sympathy with the rejected candidates and which demands their appointment.

Now we do not blame the officials of the Board for adopting this policy if they believe that the addition of a large number of men holding the objectionable opinion would lower the standard of missionary service. In that case the more applicants of this sort there are likely to be, the more reason there is for a decided refusal of the first comers. The Committee might consent, we may suppose, if they were sure no more of these troublesome applicants would appear, to appoint the few, or at least one or two of the few, who have applied, for they are admirably and exceptionally adapted to the work, as in the case of a missionary's son who knows the language in which he would preach, and who has long intended to join his father in India, or as in the case of a returned missionary, who, having had sufficient rest, desires to take up again the successful work which last year he reluctantly laid down. In those cases, we are constrained to suppose that the intention of discouraging other applicants and their sympathizers must be the principal reason for rejection. These young men are dealt with summarily lest worse things should follow.

But this policy of suppression should be avowed by the men who have adopted it, for it should be known by all parties how much is involved in what has already been done. It would be much to be deprecated, if the

impression is made that no such policy has been adopted and that no such results are to be apprehended. Yet already in published articles by various persons who advocate the methods of the Committee it has been urged that only a very small number have been turned away from the service of the Board. The statement that a dozen or a score are directly or indirectly turned away is stoutly challenged, and thereby the admission is made that so large a number would materially affect the importance of the question. It is claimed that there have been only two or three refusals, and that it is hardly worth while to make so much noise about a few men who hold peculiar views. It would be unfortunate if the Committee in any public discussion should divert attention from what has apparently been their actual policy, and from the unquestionable results of it, and should insist that the entire difficulty is confined to two, three, or at the most four cases, and then should argue that the whole affair has been grossly exaggerated; that there are very few of our consecrated and educated youth who have either adopted the new theories or rejected the old time-honored opinions concerning the possible future enlightenment of those heathen who die without the gospel.

But it is not enough to consider only the official action of a Committee. It must be evident that the record of final action is, under these circumstances, a meagre representation. A Committee with decided theological bias on a certain question might be intentionally cautious about taking applications into official consideration. A Secretary, to whose hands all preliminaries are intrusted, might advise or at least discourage final application to the Committee, might secure the withdrawal of applications before action is taken, might induce those already appointed to retire at their own request. There is, indeed, evidence that several persons have been dealt with in such manner, who with proper encouragement, and but for actual discouragement, would have asked for official appointment. And it cannot be denied that there are several who would apply at once if they were not morally certain of being refused. We can hardly believe that the corporate members of the Board will allow their judgment to be determined in view merely of the facts that can be pointed to on the official record of the Prudential Committee. Not only the loss thus measured but the probable loss to missions must be considered, if a fair and satisfactory decision is to be given. Nothing is ever gained by endeavoring to reduce the proportions of an issue below their real magnitude. All those who have any share in the discussion or decision of the question before the Board should be impatient of special pleading, of attempts to minimize the facts and their consequences, of childish disputes as to the blame for introducing troublesome issues. If a judgment is rendered on the basis of the official record and without regard to other cases, on the supposition that there have not been, and are not likely to be, other applicants of the kind refused, that judgment will be worse than worthless. It will not have even temporary value, for those who point the public to the record, and those who promulgate a decision,

themselves know perfectly well that the few recorded cases do not exhaust but are only a fraction of the number of those who, while believing that all the heathen will have a Christian probation, are yet zealous to preach the gospel to the heathen now.

The majority of the Board may decide that none of those, no matter how many or how few, who hold the view indicated, shall receive its commission; that the greater the number the worse the evil; that evangelical opinions, sound in all other respects, go for nothing; that personal qualifications of piety, zeal, good sense, thorough education, go for nothing. If such a decision is rendered, and with the understanding that the Board thus declines the services of a score or more admirable men, those who think otherwise will not complain of the methods employed, and will then honestly endeavor to adopt such courses as may seem to them right and Christian. But they have a right to expect that no attempt will be made to conceal or distort or reduce the facts and consequences.

The young men from whom missionaries are to be chosen are in two groups, the one holding unwaveringly that the eternal destiny of every human being is determined in this life, the other unable to affirm so definite an opinion, — some neither affirming nor denying, some believing that Christ will be made known to all men either before or after death. Both groups agree that the heathen are in urgent need of the gospel. A question before the Board is whether its missionaries, without exception, must be appointed from the first group, or some otherwise well qualified may be chosen from the second group. Which is the larger group no one knows. That the second includes a large number of thoughtful and earnest young men no one would think of denying.

The constituency of the American Board is in two groups, the one holding that the eternal destiny of every human being is determined in this life, the other unable to affirm so definite an opinion, — some neither affirming nor denying, some believing that Christ will be made known to all men either before or after death. Both groups agree that the heathen are in urgent need of the gospel. A question before the Board is whether only the first group can consistently sustain foreign missions, or whether the agreements of both groups as to the meaning of the gospel and the world's need of it do not so much outweigh this difference that they may harmoniously coöperate in supporting missionaries who are of either way of thinking. No one knows which is the larger group. That the second includes a large number of prayerful, generous Christians no one for a moment denies.

The complete policy of those who support the Committee's action is to minimize the number who have a larger hope for the heathen, and to represent their influence as almost inappreciable, and, on the other hand, to magnify the importance of the opinion itself, to represent it as revolutionary in theology, and subversive of all religious effectiveness. Sense of proportion has been lost. The theory which is opposed is put before the large end of the telescope, but the numbers and influence of those

who hold the theory is put before the small end of the telescope. It is time to have done with exaggerations and distortions. The hypothesis in question, even if true, cannot be raised, either by its supporters or opponents, to the rank of the essentials in theology, but must always remain in a place of only secondary importance. But it should not be denied that the number of those who adopt it as a relief to thought which ponders the destinies of mankind, and of those who concede the liberty of others to hold it, is by no means inconsiderable.

To return now to the policy of the Committee. We notice two facts in suspicious juxtaposition. One fact is the desire to make it appear that very few cases of the kind described have come before the Committee; the other fact is that the action of the Committee has been such as to make it impossible that there should be more than a few cases. Their own policy of suppression enables them to say precisely what they desire to say.

It may further be added, as has already been suggested, that if there really were only two or three applications it would be wiser to appoint the men, since it is admitted that they are well qualified to be missionaries, are emphatically vouched for, and do not hold their opinions concerning a future probation in an offensive or controversial manner. If, on the other hand, the number is really considerable, it is an extremely grave question whether the Board can afford to lose so much valuable service on account of the holding an opinion which is speculative rather than practical. If the men are so very few, there is no great danger in appointing them. If they are many, there is great danger to missions in turning aside a considerable number of effective missionaries and in alienating from the Board a large body of Christians who, if they do not themselves adopt a certain opinion, do contend for the right and liberty of others to hold it.

It should not be overlooked, however, that every one of these young men has his own rightful claims. Only two or three cases, it is said. Suppose there were only one case. Even then the Committee of a missionary society has taken upon itself to tell a young man that he cannot preach the gospel to the heathen. It is not alleged that he is incompetent, or selfish, or lacking in genuine Christian devotion, or controversial, or in error concerning the fundamental doctrines of sin and of salvation only by Jesus Christ our Lord. He is forbidden to obey Christ's last command, as it has come to him, because he does not hold, upon a question which has perplexed the church in every generation and concerning which every generation has proposed various replies, the precise opinion held by some of those to whom his application is made. Protest should be urgent, if there were only one such refusal, while if it has indeed come to this, — that three men, one of whom has already been a successful missionary twelve years, have actually been refused by official action of the Prudential Committee, — protest should become indignant. In this light it becomes unnecessary to inquire whether or not others have been dis-

couraged and will not apply. It is enough that four good men, a number equal to the original company for whom the Board was organized, have been turned back from those dark places of the earth into which few at most are willing to go even for Christ's sake.

The rejection of Mr. Hume, which in all its circumstances is almost incomprehensible, is probably an application of the policy of suppression to missionaries in the field. They have had warning to suppress any opinion which is not in agreement with that held by a majority of the Committee, and not to venture home on a vacation, however sorely it is needed, lest when they are rested, some speculative opinion (which is tolerated in the case of ministers at home) should be a fatal bar to their return. And certainly all students will be suppressed if an older man with the experience and success of Mr. Hume is rejected. The Committee may well argue that one such example is a sufficient warning to all at home and abroad, and may conclude that it is worth while to sacrifice one in order to prevent any further trouble. From the evidence coming in, however, and if the Committee is consistent, there must be a great thinning out of the force in the field, for the missionaries are by no means a unit in opinion concerning the destiny of those heathen who do not have the gospel here.

Upon the supposition, which certainly accounts for many of the unpleasant facts before us, that there is a policy of suppression, we are positive that it is a policy which can have only a brief and limited success, a policy which must in the end strengthen the very tendencies it opposes. The missionary spirit is not easily quenched. The fire which smoulders underground will surely break out over a widened area. The young men themselves, who have exercised a commendable patience under disappointment, will not supinely relinquish an exalted purpose merely because the majority of a Committee, who have sometimes acted solely on the representations of one man, have voted that they shall stay at home. The friends of these young men, and those who hold their opinion or with proper catholicity demand liberty for it, will not consent that such service shall be lost to the cause of foreign missions. If it should prove that the American Board itself indorses the rejection of good and worthy men, we do not believe that thereby they will renounce their purpose. History teaches nothing if it does not teach that attempts to suppress honest convictions and earnest men have an effect precisely opposite to that intended.

Only on grave occasion can the sympathies of its supporters be alienated from the American Board. Its honorable history, the singleness of aim which has characterized its methods, the large place it has deservedly had in the affection of the churches, have been such that any criticism upon it has usually been resented. In all matters of detail, in all adjustments and enlargements of the work abroad, in the expenditure of large sums for educational purposes, in the choice of fields, the judgment of the officers has been trusted implicitly. It has become almost sacrilegious

to object to methods employed, or even to the use made of the public meetings. (We hope that none of those who act for the Board in the present juncture are *depending* on this confidence for their own protection.) The grave doubts, therefore, which many feel in regard to the rejection of candidates, the strong opposition which is arising in many quarters, the disapproval expressed by many of the wisest and most candid leaders in the denomination, must be accepted as affording pretty clear indications that the Committee has adopted a mistaken policy. And if those who have so high a regard for the American Board already protest vigorously, it may be assumed that any decision which may be rendered will not be satisfactory unless it is a righteous and a Christian decision.

It has been urged as a reason for not appointing the candidates referred to that the Board should not encourage error in the churches at home. The Board has nothing whatever to do with such a result. Its only duty is to decide whether this man and that man are suitable persons to preach the gospel in Japan or India. What sort of a reason would this be to give a young man for his rejection? 'So far as you are concerned and so far as the work you could take up is concerned, we should be willing to send you. But you embrace an opinion which is held by a party in the church (a very, very small party as we believe, with but little influence), and if we appoint you this almost imperceptible fragment will find some encouragement in your appointment.' But granting this to be a sufficient reason, what does it signify? It is an attempt to suppress a minority of the denomination which heartily supports the Board. It is saying, 'You can support only those who hold a view which you consider narrower than your own; as to a theory on which the denomination has agreed to disagree in respect to the work at home and the liberty of preachers, you must yield to us when it arises in respect to the work abroad and the belief of missionaries; we will take your money, but not your men; practically, you cannot have equal rights with us in the foreign work.'

It would not be surprising if the Secretaries and Committee, having apparently succeeded to some degree in the policy of suppression, should next attempt to charge the blame of this trouble upon those who will not after all consent to be suppressed. Perhaps at the annual meeting, soon to be held, neither the Committee nor the Secretaries will present nor allude to the action which has been taken, and then if others bring in a protest against the exclusion of candidates, or appeal to the Board to appoint them, and discussion follows, the charge may be made that the opposition is disturbing the meeting with this heated controversy. 'We had intended,' they may say, 'to let the meeting take its usual course, to interest the great audience in the practical work the Board is doing, to have some masterly expositions of the great principles of missionary effort, to have the people led in fervid prayers and aroused by noble singing of Christian hymns. But now our opponents have introduced, much against

our wishes, this vexatious theological question.' Such a charge would be childish and silly. It makes no very great difference now who brings the difficulty forward for consideration. It is here; and one party to the controversy is forbidding young men to preach the gospel to the heathen. How puerile when complaint is made, and it ought to be made, to say: 'You began this, we did not intend to say any thing about it.' We should think, indeed, they would wish to say nothing about it, to get over it as quietly as possible. If those who are responsible keep silence, those who are aggrieved and pained and indignant can hardly be expected to submit in silence. It would be pusillanimous to make no appeal to the great body which must itself take the final responsibility. There is no desire to use the annual meeting of the American Board as an opportunity for theological discussion. But there is a desire to know and to know authoritatively if the Board really consents to the rejection of suitable young men and women who offer themselves as missionaries. That is a practical and important question, which ought to be introduced by one party if the other party declines to introduce it. It would be a paltry defense to say, 'You are spoiling the glorious missionary meeting we intended to have.' If a missionary meeting has any higher use than to decide whether certain men shall go or shall not go out as missionaries we are at a loss to conceive what it can be. But the offending party usually tries to cast the blame, especially of publicity, upon the offended party.

There is undue sensitiveness about the use of these annual meetings. Whatever is said outside, only harmony must prevail here. But it is better to have an open platform where real issues, when they arise, can be fairly discussed, than to suppress all difference of opinion at a public meeting, only to let it break out in private and on the printed page.

We would not be understood as insisting that in any case the approaching meeting at Des Moines shall be used to review the action of the Committee. If it is thought better to call a special meeting of the corporate members at another time and place for the express purpose of deciding on the course of the Board, we and all others would be thankful to let the annual meeting be devoted to the usual end of public impression. If the Board at its meeting will appoint a large and truly representative committee to review the case and report their conclusions we would ask no more. We are insistent only that some action shall be taken, and taken soon, which has the wisdom and authority of the Board behind it, and that nothing shall be suppressed nor concealed nor misrepresented.

It has been said until recently that the opinion which is opposed by the Committee is fatal to missions, and other fears have been entertained. But at any rate here are these young men and women holding the opinion, yet earnest to go out as missionaries. They believe in Christ as the Saviour from sin through his atoning sacrifice, and would so preach to the heathen. They have no message except the old apostolic message, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved. What man

or organization can dare to forbid them because on a purely speculative point they "follow not with us"? They will preach Christ. That was enough for Paul to know of certain men, although he seriously doubted their motives. And it should be enough in regard to those who have been refused, for they will preach Christ, and no one doubts their motives in the slightest degree.

The common sense of average Christian men will get at the heart of this matter. It is known that the most urgent appeals have been made for men, but that when men have offered themselves and it is certain that others like them are ready to follow, they have been rejected. It is not feared that they will preach a vitiated gospel, or will corrupt the heathen, or will be lacking in diligence and earnestness. It cannot be believed that the Board as a body or the denomination as a whole will sanction their rejection merely because they are not able to affirm their belief that millions of the heathen will be condemned forever without having had any knowledge of redemption through the Saviour of mankind.

A CORRECTION.

We have received from one of the editors of the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*" the following postal card:—

Please note that the term "Editorial article," "*Andover Review*," p. 302, line 5, is a misstatement and conveys a false impression.

F. H. FOSTER.

OBERLIN, Sept. 8.

The term referred to was used in this connection:

"We append to this editorial a brief criticism of a statement which appeared in an editorial article in the '*Bibliotheca Sacra*' for July, 1886. The statement is as follows:—

"It is definitely proposed, we understand, to make up an Andover band to transport this new theory into Japan, and practically reorganize the mission of the American Board on the lines of the 'New Departure.'"

This statement appeared in the usual place and type of editorial matter in an article under the general title "Notes on the New Departure," and under the sub-title "Progressive Orthodoxy and Missions." So much of the article as appeared under the sub-title was divided into two parts marked I. and II. Part I. was signed. Part II. was unsigned, and therefore we supposed editorial. We were led into the error of thinking that it was all intended for editorial matter, though a part of it bore a personal signature. We now correct our mistake, which gave editorial indorsement to the statement in question, and herewith credit the statement to the writer whose signature appears at the end of Part I., that is, (Rev^d) G. R. Leavitt.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

DISCUSSION ON THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, AND ON THE RIGHT OF PROPERTY AND THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND.

THE American Social Science Association, which began its work at the close of the war, has come to the time when it has felt justified in proposing an extended scheme of instruction in social science for our American colleges and other higher institutions of learning. This action has begun with a careful collection of the facts concerning the present work of a hundred or more of these institutions, and its course is probably both an act of leadership and also one falling in with a movement of the times. The information gathered and the trend of the discussion will interest many.

In order to ascertain the present condition of the colleges in this matter, a circular was prepared covering ten heads: The Theory of Property, Real and Personal; Production and Distribution of Wealth; Theory of Government, National, State, and Municipal; Public and Private Corporations; Punishment and Reform of Criminals; Prevention of Vice; Public and Private Charities; Sanitation of Cities and Private Dwellings; Theory of Public Elementary Education; and Higher Education (as furnishing the directive power of society). Answers have been received from over one hundred institutions, and tabulated in the printed report to the association. It is found that the first three topics of this list of ten are taught in nearly all these institutions, generally in the third and fourth years, though sometimes in the second year, but in Harvard College throughout the four years in an elective course. Two or three teach these subjects only incidentally, and one or two not at all. In many instances, probably, it is in the two departments of Constitutional Law and Political Economy. Only about one half treat of corporations, and about the same touch the subject of criminals, and still less the remaining classes of topics, while in the latter instruction is reported "incidental" in a large number of instances. Fuller returns will increase the data, but hardly modify very much the general results.

Another interesting report on the subject is that of a special committee appointed last December to prepare a schedule of topics for lectures and conferences on social science, especially for university and college instruction. The topics reported are arranged according to the five departments of the association: Education, Health, Trade and Finance, Social Economy, and Jurisprudence. Each of these is divided into from five to seven classes with five, six, or more subdivisions, and the remark is often added that the list may be extended indefinitely. In this way two hundred topics or more are named for the consideration of the instructor. The opening address of the president of the Association, Mr. Carroll D. Wright, at the general meeting at Saratoga, in September, at which these reports were presented and the discussions took place, was a plea for popular instruction in social science. Though of the opinion that the lower schools are already overloaded with subjects, Mr. Wright would displace some with the themes of social science, and secure elementary education in the common schools in several leading topics under the five departments of the Association. Mr. Wright would do this both through

a good simple text-book and in oral lessons. He also strongly urges the use of the Sunday-school for reaching certain classes, and spoke of a series of such books entitled "Lessons in Ethics, or the Laws of Right Conduct," publications of the American Unitarian Association, in which the primary domestic and social virtues are set forth from a scriptural and natural basis. Another is entitled "Character Lessons;" another is on "The Citizen and the Neighbor;" another series of lesson papers deals with "Home Life, School Life, and Character." The general discussion that followed this address showed a remarkable unanimity of sentiment, in favor of something of this sort in the Sunday-school, on the part of men of various ecclesiastical affiliations. Dr. W. T. Harris, of Concord, Mass., here spoke decidedly against the instruction of children, either in the public or Sunday-schools, on the nature and evils of intemperance, as he would, of course, in regard to teaching on the vices of sex. It is significant that a gentleman was in Saratoga at that very time from one of the older missionary fields looking for just such material as Mr. Wright spoke of for the purpose of giving moral fibre and reality to the work of Sunday-schools in the native churches for which he cares.

There was and there will be, naturally, considerable feeling that this immense mass of material, with only the form of classification given in the reports along the lines of the five departments of the Social Science Association, will practically do little more than supply those interested with a large number of suggestive topics from which they may make selections. The very amount of it will discourage others or lead them to put a low value on the science itself as having a unity of its own, and as a source of clear knowledge of practical value. Colleges do not work from the point of view of social science as a whole. They have introduced first one and then another of its topics, under the names of "political economy," "constitutional law," etc., as the needs, the means, and other circumstances of their institutions have led them to do. What will be wanted is some coördinating principle more definite than that given in the ten classes to which these are set in this report. These Notes, for March, in describing an elementary lecture with maps of a country village, gave the institutions of the Family, Religion, Education, Economics, and Government as the five classes into which our present social facts naturally fall, the first being at once the germ and, in some degree, permanent tissue of the others. Dr. W. T. Harris made a classification, which is a pretty well-known one of his, as follows in some remarks, which we transfer nearly entire from his notes: "Social science has for its object the study of the nature of human combinations into institutions. Obviously, it may be divided into four departments to correspond to the four cardinal institutions, the Family, Civil Society, the State, and the Church. Here civil society corresponds to our term 'economics,' and the school is, with considerable reason, regarded as an extension of the family into the state and the church." To continue, with Dr. Harris, "Social science may devote itself to the principle of nurture, — or parental care, — and thus cover all phases of charitable activity. For although the family is the primary institution for nurture, or for the support of the weak by the strong, yet the family principle has in some degree to be assumed by all the higher institutions. The principle of the family is nurture, but the principle of the civil community (economics) is self-help. By means of the instruments of property and contract this civil community procures for itself a participation in the fruits of all nature. Thus the civil com-

munity by organization conquers nature, and turns its forces against themselves, making nature toil directly for man. Property and contract are the instruments of this civil combination. In the state man attains freedom. For as citizen he gives his life for the existence of the political personality of the nation, and by it is reëndowed with that personality — his own little self reinforced by the aggregate of all the selves in the nation, and thus rendered infinitely strong and firm. By the spiritual institution, the church universal, as I prefer to call it, which includes art, religion, and science, each man is illumined by the light of the whole. He enters into the theory of the world created by the combined vision of all the highest seers of the race, and by the combined experience and observation of all scientific laborers. Now social science has for its legitimate field all these provinces — the entire civilization of man." And then Dr. Harris submits the material of the ten classes into which all the topics of the report fall, and shows the way these again fall into the more strictly natural classification he makes. We have given this classification of a profound philosophical thinker for its own merit, and to illustrate the need and value of some working principles for the student, as well as the teacher, in finding his way through the mass of complex material which social science is made to include. Its close correspondence with the divisions given in the March Notes, which were purely inductive conclusions from the facts of the typical community found in every town, is instructive. And the reader is now pointed to the practical lesson that one of the greatest needs in this kind of instruction is clearly that of such a grasp of the fundamental social institutions and their leading features as will furnish the student and the many general readers who are trying to understand social problems with a tolerably clear survey of the field in its outlines and main features, and at the same time give them a good working-apparatus. The science of botany affords a good illustration of what is needed in studying and teaching sociology. There and here the pupil needs to be put in possession, through the study of the most obvious facts and by suitable aid from his instructors, of the great principles of order and classification, so far at least as to give him a working-hypothesis. Then his work is intelligible at every step, his progress is rapid, and its attainments are sure. But it is just this that is wanting in most colleges and in the lower schools, and which came wonderfully near being lacking in the report to this learned body. Little or no time is spent in our colleges in putting the particular branch of the great general science which may be studied at any time into its true relations with others and to the science as a whole. There is little or no clear and strong grasp by the pupil, and sometimes by the teacher, of the great fundamental social institutions, which is essential to all good knowledge of the several social sciences and to intelligent action in reference to them. Most colleges now have a course in constitutional government, generally that of our own country, and one on political economy, running through a year. But the other institutions, — the family, school, and church, — will not be treated at all or else only incidentally. In this way the graduate goes out with a one-sided education, and, what is worse, without a mental equipment to enable him to make up his deficiencies and carry on his future work. Even the theological seminary gives its students no estimate of the church as a social institution. The pastor and the legislator suffer alike. Now, if no more time can be given in the colleges that take this course, why should they not devote

the first few weeks—there should be ten or more—to the fundamental work here described? The remaining work of the year would be far better done. Indeed, we are not sure but one half the year spent in this way with such special attention to the two departments more commonly taken up in the other half year would be far better for the general student than the present course. We speak strongly because so many of our generally educated men who read on social topics and attempt to instruct others fail at this particular point. The study and discussion of social questions in the light of a good knowledge of the past and present social institutions is one of the greatest needs of our people and times. It would ground social pathology, so to speak, in a fair knowledge of the social anatomy and physiology. And this account shows how the professed leaders in social science hardly rise to the height of the opportunity given them by the imperfect comprehension of the colleges.

The discussion of the Right of Property and the Ownership of Land was opened by Dr. Harris with a paper that was regarded as an original contribution to the literature called forth by the books of Mr. Henry George. We give the gist of the argument on the leading point, necessarily omitting the preliminary discussion, which adds greatly to the force of the reasoning.

On the fundamental position of Mr. Henry George's theory,—that private property in land is wrong,—Professor Harris says, in substance, that one fallacy is in the assumption that rent plays a large part in the cost of living and in wages. For the amount of property all told is shown by the census table of 1880 to be about forty-three billions of dollars for the entire United States. Of this thirteen billions represent the property which labor has produced, and which may be called capital. At three per cent. interest the entire annual rental of the land, exclusive of buildings, is \$7.30 for each inhabitant, or about two cents a day. The total production of the people in the year 1880 was \$197.10 for each person for the year, or fifty-four cents for each day. This shows the status of the question; two cents a day for ground-rent at the utmost, and fifty-two cents for other things. Two cents a day—the part paid for rent—would not very materially change the situation; as much might easily be done by more care in saving under the present order of things. Of the fifty-four cents, Professor Harris reckons that two cents go for ground-rent, five for interest on capital, three for taxes, and two for brains and direction, leaving a balance of forty-two cents per day, of which forty go for direct consumption of food, clothing, culture, etc., leaving two to be laid aside as savings. On this showing, Professor Harris says, whatever be the theories, the facts prove that only four per cent. of the annual product of labor goes for rent, while the laborer has eighty per cent. Another fallacy of Mr. George was shown to be his neglect to distinguish between two very different uses of land—land for agriculture, and land for building-lots. The latter may rise to any price almost, but competition between building-lots and farming-lands will fix a limit. Rapid transit extends this building-limit in cities twenty miles or more. After that the price falls to the agricultural standard. The dreadful nature of Mr. George's proposition lies in its effect, which would be to carry society back to the era of the village community, when there neither was nor could be any development of individuality in the way of culture of thought or business because of the entanglement of one's personality with the personality of the family or community. Go to Maine and

Laveleye to see the long course of evolution through which civil institutions pass before the age of free citizenship can arrive. Read, he says, these authors and see how free citizenship is conditioned by free property in land. The incompletion of this movement lies at the bottom of the disturbed condition of England. The scale of land ownership, beginning with the highest, is (1) proprietorship vested in the cultivator, (2) hereditary tenancy, (3) long leaseholds, (4) cultivation on shares, (5) short leaseholds, (6) tenure at will. Proudhon, the socialist, truly says, "Communism means disregard of work, weariness of life, suppression of thought, destruction of self, and the setting up of general chaos." The truth is, to put Professor Harris's thought in a sentence, each stage in personal development of the individual is accompanied with a corresponding advance in his relation to the land. The control of land by the village community tends to serfdom, which is at the bottom of the scale of social development in our historic civilization. The paper will be published in full elsewhere, or we should give more of it.

Some remarks in the debate that followed showed that many minds are still in the toils of the sheer individualism of their education thirty years ago. They have been compelled by the pressure of social questions to doubt their old axiomatic truths concerning property and government, but are not yet consciously in the line of the sounder views which the best historical and philosophical study of institutions is giving. It is surprising to see the place that the fiction of Robinson Crusoe still holds in the reasoning of men on social topics, as if we had in it a type of the true embryonic stage of society. Men forget that historically no such way of developing social institutions has ever been found to exist; or if it has it is on too small a scale to have value. One wonders if that story could have had its great influence if it had not been born of the age when the people began to indulge the theories of a natural society like that which Rousseau put into the practical politics of his day, and which ignore the forms, the toil and struggles by which all that is best in the actual institutions of society has slowly worked the thought of man towards the place where he can begin to see both where he is and that by which he has been made what he is. The individual man does not himself create the family and the other great fundamental institutions of society. He is born into them, and but slowly moulds them into new shapes; and it is by entering into their life that he finds his own life. When, therefore, a teacher declares that the only theory of government is presented in the alternative either of paternalism or a pure individualism, and deliberately chooses the latter as the only possible foundation of a free government, in which the governing power is best characterized as a committee of the people, it seems to us time that the debate, at least in the popular forms of it, should be considered as still going on. It was a curious fact at this Saratoga meeting that in one respect the representatives of the Knights of Labor and the scholarly representatives of thought were nearer common ground than either was to some others. Both saw that the family and the state are social wholes of such a nature, and that they so enter into industrial and governmental problems that the economic attempt to deal with individuals and corporations only in the solution of these questions must fail if nothing else is done. The statistical investigation of the economic place of the home as well as the individual, the study of the corporate capital and the corporate labor of the times historically and with reference to their relations to the more fundamental in-

stitutions of society, especially that of the family, found ready advocates in those most familiar with the results of the investigations of Maine, Laveleye, and others, and in the earnest, though it may be crude and often mistaken, opinions of the workingmen. The number of points of common contact between scholars and the more intelligent among the masses indicating that the final word on the true social order is not yet spoken, together with the tendency of both to think that the gains of the future will be in the way of orderly development rather than by violent revolutionary schemes, is significant. It gives us courage and hope, while it does not fail to make us cautious of too great confidence in the positions of sheer conservatism.

Samuel W. Dike.

ROYALTON, VT.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A GENERAL VIEW OF MISSIONS.

III. CEYLON.

MR. SMITH, of the Ceylon Mission of the American Board, writing from Tillingally, February 4, 1885, reports for the thirteen churches of this Mission a net gain the previous year of 71, a total membership (December 31) of 1,189, native contributions to the amount of 5,900 rupees, 500 less than 1883, owing to the hard times. Twelve had been graduated from the Oodooville Girls' Boarding-school, and six from the Training-school, to which, moreover, twelve had just been admitted, chosen out of fifty candidates. — Mr. Howland, writing under date of April 8, 1885, remarks on the general assent to the truth of the gospel which he finds among the surrounding heathen, combined with an extreme indifference to its claims. He remarks that it reminds him very much of home. Here follow some extracts from the report of the Government Director of Public Instruction: —

"When I was on a tour of inspection in the Jaffna peninsula I was exceedingly struck with the very excellent girls' boarding-schools there. Where all were good I trust I shall not be deemed invidious if I specially mention that of Oodooville, under the American Mission, which could not be easily surpassed in any country. Here is a great field for girls' training-schools." "I have already spoken of the great efficiency of the chief grant-in-aid boarding-schools for girls. Apart from mere scholastic efficiency, these schools are most valuable agents of civilization; being personally supervised by European or American ladies, of whose work I cannot speak too highly." "I listened with great pleasure (my approach not having been observed) to the tasteful and sweet singing of ninety-odd girls in one of these schools — singing entirely free from what are, to an English ear, Oriental defects, and full of feeling and expression which I have never heard under similar circumstances in similar schools in England." "It will be observed that the grants are all remarkably high, and they reflect most creditably on female education in Ceylon in the higher class of aided schools. Oodooville, as last year, heads the list by examination results."

— In the Young People's department of the "Missionary Herald" for November, 1885, the Rev. Samuel W. Howland gives some interesting illustrated sketches of the wretched homes and furnishings of the Jaffna people. These inhabitants of the northern end of Ceylon and ad-

jacent islets are, like the people of the neighboring parts of India, Tamils, not Aryans, in race. The relation of their religion to Hindooism is thus stated by Mr. Howland: "They were formerly devil-worshippers; but idolatry, introduced by the Brahmans from Northern India some centuries ago, has become the religion of the people, except in a few outlying districts. Many combine the two forms of worship, and that, too, very easily, for the gods of the heathen do not differ much from devils." The most pleasing of the few cuts is the one representing a native catechist, in his dress and turban of pure white, sitting in, or rather on, his modest native turn-out, called a hackery. This consists of two large wheels, between which is something a little resembling a high curule chair, come down from imperial and raised to evangelical estate. The hackery is drawn by one of the little white Indian oxen, costing some three dollars, and the vehicle eight or ten. Thus conveyed over the excellent macadamized roads which British rule has secured to the region, his little bag of books by his side, the sower of the word goes forth. — Mr. Smith writes from Jaffna: —

"I have been impressed during the past three months with the strength that heathenism still has in the land. There is a great temple at a village one mile north from this station. It is connected with the famous sacred spring on the seashore, one mile west from the temple. This spring is covered by the sea at floodtide, but the ebb lays bare a basin three feet in diameter and two feet deep, filled to the brim with water as sweet and soft and fresh as can be found in any well in Jaffna, and pouring out such a stream that the whole sea for rods around is little more than brackish. The heathen say that this spring is the water of the sacred Ganges, bubbling up again for their healing; and they have made it the sacred bathing-place for all Jaffna. Thousands resort to the temple and the spring throughout the year, especially on Friday, the most sacred of all the days of the week to Hindoos. Several wealthy, educated men drive out twelve miles from Jaffna town every Friday morning to bathe in the spring and worship at the temple, bringing with them a weekly offering. At the time of the annual festival in August, the number of visitors increases more than a hundredfold. . . . Probably the number of those who attend these festivals from sincere religious motives is not increasing, but the wealth and popularity and attracting power of the larger temples certainly are increasing, and the change of motive from a desire to propitiate the deity and secure his favor to a vain delight in brilliant spectacles, or a vile itching for lewd sights and sounds, is scarcely a gain for Christianity. This temple is only one of at least a dozen of nearly equal size and wealth, and popularity, in Jaffna, each one of which has some special attraction and holds an annual festival, and the festivals are held at different times of the year that they need not interfere with each other, but may afford a succession of attractive *fêtes* to the people, and a constant source of income to the proprietors and priests. These temples are thus popular and prosperous because the great mass of the people are still heathens, and are well content to remain such, and look upon the Christians as an insignificant minority, not likely to amount to anything."

— The last March number of the "*Herald*" contains extracts from a letter addressed by the senior Foreign Secretary of the American Board to the eleven native pastors of the Ceylon Mission, in reply to their annual letter addressed to the Secretaries. We make some quotations: —

"I note in one or two instances that about as many heathen are in attendance on public worship as Christians. . . . I notice also that some parents, while feeling that they cannot well embrace the gospel, in view of social ties and want of moral courage, are yet content that their children should become Christians. . . . Let there be, dear brethren, a united effort to bring men at once to decision — to bring those already enlightened and knowing their duty

to take the final step and declare themselves on the side of the Lord. This is the great need of the present time. . . . A field that has been occupied by missionaries so long as yours is certainly ripe for a great ingathering."

— In the "Missionary Herald" for August, 1886, Miss Mary Leitch, writing of the Ceylon Mission, says: —

"Within the fourteen months since we wrote to you sixty have joined the Oodoville church on profession of faith, thirty from the villages and thirty from the boarding-school. It was an interesting sight to see young girls with bright, earnest faces, young men in the promise of manhood, fathers and mothers with their little children in their arms or clinging to their garments, old men and women feeble and bowed with age, one leaning on his staff, all standing up together, the rich and the poor, the Vellali, the Kovia, and the Pariah, and together confessing before all the congregation their faith in Jesus, the Saviour of the world, their one Lord.

"At present the list of inquirers numbers 130. A copy is given to each of the leading church members, with the request that they will pray for, and encourage, these individuals. Two meetings for these inquirers, the one for women, the other for men, are regularly held every Sunday immediately after the morning service. Sabbath afternoons, after the Sunday-school teachers' meeting, the Christian men go out in companies and teach six village Sunday-schools. They are accompanied by about twenty boys from the station who can assist by singing. The Christian women are divided into seven companies and go on Sabbath afternoons and hold meetings in heathen homes. Our little girls who can sing well also go with these women to aid in the singing. In this way we try to train up our boys and girls with a view to their being Christian workers in the future, and we believe that after the Christians are well fed in the morning the best way to keep them from becoming spiritual dyspeptics is to give them plenty of work to do in the afternoons.

"February 15 the Girls' Boarding-school closed its school year, graduating a class of twenty-four girls, the largest ever graduated by this school, and all professing Christians. . . . One could not help noting how large a number of the women present were graduates of the institution. Their faces showed the pleasure they had in revisiting their Alma Mater and listening to the recitations and songs of their children now in the school. . . . In the Government Grant Examination held a few days ago, the school passed eighty-four per cent., and earned 2,450 rupees. All passed in the vernacular and three in English as well."

— "The Mission Field" for November, 1885, the organ of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, reports favorably of the literary efficiency of St. Thomas's College, Colombo. How far this bears directly on the propagation of the gospel, we do not know. We see every day at the West that the height of culture does not reach that spiritual disease in which the creature assumes himself to be better and wiser than his Creator, and on the ground of this superiority sinks into the fierce and acrid pessimism of the Nihilists, the placid self-resignation of the Buddhists, shimmering between despair and vague hope, between atheism and vague belief, or, most unpleasant and least estimable variety of all, the patronizing pessimism of Matthew Arnold, which mimics all the attitudes of Christian faith over mere vacuity. We are here in the transition from the deep, though deeply degraded, pantheistic religiousness of Brahmanism, just so overlapping Ceylon as to take in its northern third or thereabouts, into what, after all wavering representations, is still to be described as the atheistic vacancy of Buddhism, of which Ceylon is a classic land. Here and in Farther India Buddhism maintains its proper type. In Thibet it may be, doctrinally, equally near to it, but there its

highly developed hierarchical form seems, to the tentative knowledge beyond which few, even of Western scholars, appear to have advanced, to set it off into a separate variety. Living intercommunication, indeed, is a thing that hardly exists within Buddhism, since the ferment of the first few generations of its missionary period. Goldwin Smith, whose liberality is not of the maudlin sort, tells the simple truth when he says that it has never shown itself competent to found a church, a state, a civilization, or a literature, but merely lives on age after age in a congeries of stagnating monasteries. Hindooism shows how fearfully crushing and defiling religious feeling is when it is not absolutely controlled by ethical apprehensions. And Buddhism shows how absolutely impotent ethical feeling is which is not borne up on the wings of pure religion. They are the two supplicating cries of the farthest East for Him in whom you cannot by any art divorce the consciousness of humanity from the consciousness of Divinity.

Thus, while, as Max Müller says (I quote him for this at second-hand), there is no nation more ready to receive the gospel than India, there are no countries in which, with often an extraordinary superficial resemblance of teaching, the underlying principle of the religion is so completely the antipodes of the gospel as the Buddhist countries. It is easier to cleanse defiled strength than to vivify atonic emptiness. Of all lands, therefore, Ceylon and Farther India are perhaps the least hopeful for missionary labor, except as it may lay hold of populations like the Karens, which are territorially, but not religiously, within the domain of Buddhism. Already in China things promise better, for there Buddhism is only one of the three great *licitae religiones*, which, though all three inclined to atheism, yet, partly fusing and partly colliding, impair the vigor of one another's authority. And in Japan the light and mobile genius of the people, Polynesian rather than Asiatic, seems to need consideration apart.

Yet into Ceylon and Farther India Christ has come, and there He will stay, and there his kingdom will spread. And though the Buddhists know that the Christian governors, into whose hands they have been given, have not the most distant thought of persecuting that "reverential remembrance" of their great saint and hero in which alone their worship consists, yet the present struggles of Burmah against the British are said to be a desperate attempt of Buddhism, in the greatest properly Buddhist kingdom, to avoid coming under Christian supremacy. If this is really so, it surely marks the dismay of despair in this most passive of all religions. If its controlling authority should suddenly shrivel up, it is possible that the kindly races of Indo-China, towards which it has the very great negative merit of having cleansed them from religious cruelty and impurity, and allowed free course to natural feeling among the masses who have not accepted the discipline of the order, will develop into a far more hopeful field of missionary labor than they appear to be at present.

In Ceylon, however, Buddhism appears to have an insular concentration and power over the whole population greater than anywhere else. It is not humanly probable, therefore, that Edwin Arnold's heart will be broken by its conversion to the gospel in his day.

To return to St. Thomas's College, Colombo, fourteen out of sixteen candidates passed the Cambridge Local Examinations, six out of ten candidates passed the Calcutta Entrance Examination, and their one

candidate for the Calcutta First in Arts Examination was successful.— In the Anglican system it is peculiarly difficult to harmonize the authority of a bishop and of an independent missionary society, where the latter sends out clergymen who are to work in the diocese of the former. This we know has appeared particularly in Ceylon, where there has been a wearisome controversy between the Bishop of Colombo and the agents of the Church Missionary Society, sharpened by the very different doctrinal positions of the high contending parties. The “Church Missionary Intelligencer” for April, 1885, however, gives the report of a commission deputed to negotiate with the bishop, with very hopeful results. Neglecting the controversy, however, whose bewildering details concern us little, we extract some paragraphs of interest :—

“The firm attachment of the society’s Ceylon missionaries to its spiritual principles is well known. But, in addition to this, the spiritual tone of the missionaries, their zeal and devotion ; the mutual affection that prevails among them ; the desire to help one another, and the willingness to receive help from one another ; the intelligent interest felt by each one in the work of all his brethren ; the kindly feeling, as well as the Christian love felt towards the native Christians ; their firm grasp of the principles of native Christian self-support and self-government ; their clear perception of the superiority of spiritual and moral energies over secular and material forces ; the hopefulness and enterprise, chastened but not abated among the seniors ;—these, and other characteristics, called out our gratitude to God, and our bright anticipations for the future.

“Among the native Christians, while the difference between the outspoken cheerfulness of the Tamil and the quietude, sometimes pensiveness, of the Singhalese is evident to all, yet both races supply examples, both among the agents and the independent laymen, of piety, energy, self-reliance, and intelligence, that afford the greatest encouragement in looking forward to the future development of Christianity in Ceylon. . . . There is much also, we think, that is encouraging and hopeful in the efforts hitherto made by the native Christians in the direction of self-government and self-support. The Native Church Councils, though as yet in their infancy, and consequently lacking in experience, are yet, on the whole, working well, and are in thorough accordance with the lines laid down by the Parent Committee. . . . With regard to the outward growth of the Native Church in Ceylon, the number of annual accessions from heathenism is still small. Yet though the progress in this respect is slow, it is steady. It must be admitted also that the missionary activity of the native Christians, among their own immediate neighbors, is not what it ought to be. But the slowness of the advance must also be attributed to the great hold that Buddhism has upon the population, as being a religion long established, that has even stood persecution, and which is connected with the ancient historic glories of Singhalese kings. This does not, it is true, apply to the work among the Tamils ; but success in that branch, that is to say, the apparent success, is equally retarded by the migratory habits of the population.”

—In the South Ceylon Mission of this society there were, in the year 1884–85, 120 adult and 240 infant baptisms. — The “Intelligencer” for October, 1885, contains a lecture on Buddhism, by the Rev. S. Coles, of the Ceylon Mission of the Church Society, which quite agrees with the view of it given above. He, too, remarks that it is generally conceded that Buddhism exists in its greatest purity in Ceylon and Burmah. It thus appears that even Siam is held to stand on a lower plane of doctrinal soundness. It is no wonder, then, that Burmah feels so intolerably humiliated at coming under Christian supremacy. Mr. Coles says :—

“Although, like early Brahmanism, there is much to admire in the theories

and dogmas of Buddhism, it must be viewed in its entirety in order to be able to form a just judgment on it. The obliteration of the doctrines relating to the Supreme Being of the universe and the soul of man from the teachings of Buddhism has made it generally inoperative on the lives of its adherents, as is evidenced by the general disregard shown by them to its claims on their attention. It affords no consolation to the sorrowful, no aid to the weak, no pardon for the sinner, and no hope for assistance from a higher power; but each individual is isolated from all real help and sympathy, and must submit to the inevitable result of his past actions. Hence the essential conception of sin as a missing of the mark, and gratitude, faith, and love towards a Father, a Saviour, and a Sanctifier, are unknown to the many millions of Buddhists, both lay and clerical, and it is not to be wondered that their lives are immoral, because the essential aids to true piety are wanting in their religion. It is generally admitted that the clergy are worse than the laity, and so it was during Buddha's ministry, as may be learned from the *Vinaya Pitaka*. This portion of the Buddhist Scriptures is the least known to the European students of that religion, and this accounts for the undeserved eulogiums which have been so frequently and freely expressed on Buddhism. Buddha acknowledged that morality is eternal, and that its laws are immutable and superior to all beings; he therefore laid no claim to originating it, although he established a church, to the cleric and lay members of which he gave a code of laws for regulating their conduct. It is from the disciplinary laws of the *Vinaya Pitaka* enacted on behalf of the clergy that we discover how low was the standard of practical morality that Buddha established, and how many deviations from it he condoned by the degrees of punishment he appointed for breaches of his disciplinary laws. There are no grounds for excuse of ignorance on these matters henceforth, because Dr. Oldenburg, with the aid of the British and German governments, has published the *Vinaya Pitaka* in the Roman character, in the Pali language. These disciplinary rules are 227 in number, and to many of them the words of St. Paul are applicable, 'It is a shame even to speak of them;' for they are so vile that the publisher of translations of them would justly render himself liable to an action for a breach of the laws relating to decency and morality. Sins of the deepest dye, and to modern ideas impossible, are mentioned as having been committed by some of Buddha's clergy during his lifetime, and he declared they were of minor import, and merited a proportionately small degree of punishment.

"It can scarcely be affirmed that any one yet fully understands this wonderful and wide-spread religion, which may be said to deify action, to inculcate the eradication of all desire, to overestimate kindness to animals, to isolate man from all superhuman aids, to provide him with innumerable excuses for breaches of morality, and to teach that in some future far-distant age it may be possible to escape the ills of life by arriving at Nirvāna, the cessation of everything; but its adherents deserve the sympathy and help of all true Christians, and largely increased efforts should be made to show them the more excellent way opened out for us by the God-man Christ Jesus, who pitied us in our lost estate, but saw that it was not irremediable."

— In the anniversary number of the "Wesleyan Missionary Notices" for 1886, the Rev. Edmund Rigg, of Ceylon, remarks that there are two Ceylons, one of the north, and one of the south, "differing one from the other in climate, in physical conformation, in population, and in religion. One hot, arid, and flat, but peopled by a race whose energy and pluck make them no unworthy rival of the Anglo-Saxon, and the other exhibiting a variety of climate and of form sufficient to gratify the most ardent admirer of change, and to please the most cultivated devotee of beauty." Mr. Rigg himself labors among the Tamils of the north and east, who, like their brethren in Southern India, are mostly Hindoos in religion. The exact distribution of religions is given by the "Encyclopædia Britannica" as follows, according to the census of 1871: Buddhists, 1,520,575;

Hindoos, 465,944; Mohammedans, 171,542; Christians, 240,042. Of the Christians, about 186,000 are Roman Catholics, and about 54,000 Protestants. Of the Tamils, about 72,000 are Christians, and the rest Hindoos. Of the Singhalese, who form 70 per cent. of the whole population, about 150,000 are Christians, and the rest Buddhists. About 18,000 Christians are Europeans or Eurasians. The Singhalese is an Aryan tongue, and even the savage forest Vaddas are said to speak one of the same family. But, according to Mr. Rigg, the energy of Ceylon lies not with the Aryan or Aryanized Singhalese, but with the Dravidian Tamils. Probably the depressing influence of Buddhism, which has reduced active crime to a lower point than any other religion, has also reduced the active energies of these Buddhists of the Buddhists. On the other hand, the deep attachment of the Singhalese to this pensive and quietistic religion seems to imply an original congruity of temperament. Mr. Rigg, of course, is occupied only with Hindooism. He quotes a Sivite preacher of the Jaffna peninsula, — which is the stronghold of missionary operations in Hindooistic Ceylon, — who said of a place on the peninsula, "There are so many half-Christians that Sivaism cannot flourish." Mr. Rigg says: "In the Jaffna peninsula I do not know of a village where a school of some denomination or other of Christians has not been established, for we must remember that in this work our Church is not alone. We have splendid allies, magnificent workers, men and women filled with holy zeal and love, who are not ashamed to call us brethren, or to be called brethren by us. I refer to the missionaries of the American and Church Missions." — Mr. Rigg relates a touching narrative, heard from a colleague, who says, speaking of giving instruction in a certain Christian village school: —

"I noticed a very bright, intelligent lad among those I was addressing, a lad whose eye glistened and lips moved whenever I spoke of the one true God and Jesus Christ his son, who came down from heaven and died for us all. After the school closed, this boy wended his way quickly through the forest homewards. He had nearly reached home when, stepping out of his path to gather some sticks for the evening fire, a wild boar met him and gored him cruelly. He was carried home, and I was at once sent for. As soon as I got into the compound the little boy lifted up his languid eye and said, 'Don't cry, sir; it is all right. I am dying, but I'm going to heaven. Jesus is my Saviour.'"

A young man, who had been in a Christian school, but had left it quite indifferent to the gospel, chanced subsequently to notice somewhere the words: "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." "I could not get over this," said the youth. "This is what I wanted. Pilgrimages and bathings I knew would not save. This might. I will try it." He did so. That young man is now a Christian, and an earnest worker amongst these villages." "But," says Mr. Rigg, "the offense of the Cross has not yet ceased. I have known baptized girls, when at home, beaten and dragged to the temple, and smeared with the sacred ashes. I have known them decoyed from school, and married straight off to heathen men in order that they might be forced into renouncing their Christianity. I have known girls hail the passing bullock cart and rush into it that they might find at the boarding-school the shelter their homes denied them; but I have never known, save in one case, of a girl abjuring her Christianity and becoming a willing attendant at the temple, a worshiper again of her country's gods." — Mr. Rigg reports the Mission as having had,

some twenty years ago, in the Eastern Province of Ceylon, a dozen schools and about five hundred scholars, where now they have seventy-six schools and four thousand five hundred scholars. — The Wesleyan churches of Ceylon are already beginning to assume the care of modest missions of their own. — It is quite in a line with Sir Samuel Baker's recommendation as to Ceylon, but hardly in a line with our own usual estimate of the relative importance of agencies, when Mr. Rigg says: "We believe in preaching, in street preaching, in bazaar preaching, in bungalow preaching, in touring, but these are not the staple of our work; they are rather the work of our recreative hours. Our most effective weapon is our schools." — The largest number of candidates for baptism in any one Wesleyan District is 113. We need not say that the English Wesleyans are not, as here, a minor denomination, but are the main body of Methodists.

It appears from the "Britannica," and from the absence of missionary allusions, that caste, though existing among the Hindoos of Ceylon, has not fastened itself in any such rigor upon them as in India proper, and is therefore not such an obstacle to the progress of Christianity. Among the Buddhist Singhalese it prevails, but only socially, not religiously. The lowest castes are equally eligible to the priesthood. Buddhism, the antipodes of Christianity, is, like it, hostile to all religious particularism.

FARTHER INDIA. — The "Free Church of Scotland Monthly" has an extract from a recent address of Sir M. Monier-Williams, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, which is very well in place in passing from the great Buddhist island to the great Buddhist peninsula. Indeed, it gives the common note of all the religions of the East, and of the world, except the one which was revealed to Abraham, and is summated in Christ. He says: —

"I may claim that in the discharge of my duties for forty years I have devoted as much time as any man living to the study of the sacred books of the East. And I venture to tell this meeting what I have found to be the one keynote — the one diapason, so to speak — of all these so-called sacred books — whether it be the Veda of the Brahmans, the Puranas of Siva and Vishnu, the Koran of the Mohammedans, the Zendavesta of the Parsees, the Tripitika of the Buddhists, — the one diapason, the one refrain that you will find through all, is salvation by works. They all say that salvation must be purchased, must be bought with a price, and that the sole price, the sole purchase-money must be our own works and deservings. Our own Holy Bible, our Sacred Book of the East, is from beginning to end a protest against this doctrine. Good works are, indeed, enjoined upon us in that Sacred Book of the East, far more strongly than in any other sacred book of the East, but they are only the outcome of a grateful heart — they are only a thank-offering, the fruits of our faith. They are never the ransom-money of the true disciples of Christ. . . . Let us not shut our eyes to what is excellent and true and of good report in these sacred books, but let us teach Hindoos, Buddhists, Mohammedans, that there is only one sacred book of the East that can be their mainstay in that awful hour when they pass all alone into the unseen world. It is the Sacred Book which contains that faithful saying worthy to be received of all men, women, and children, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners."

Monier-Williams here gives the great weight of his vast learning to confirm Goldwin Smith's declaration, who, in answer to the remark that there are but three or four spiritual religions in the world, replies, "There is but one." Sir Monier says also: —

"We can understand, then, the hold which these so-called sacred books or

the East continue to exert on the natives of India, for the pride of self-righteousness is very dear to the human heart. It is like a tight-fitting inner garment, the first to be put on, the last to be put off. Nay, this may also account for the fact that in the present day these so-called sacred books of the East are gaining many admirers, who fall into raptures over the moral precepts which here and there glitter in them, like a few stars sparkling through the rifts of a cloudy sky on a pitch-dark night. . . . A kind of doctrine called Neo-Buddhism is spreading, I am sorry to say, in many places both in Europe and America, and also in India, where we hoped that Buddhism had been long extinct. This new doctrine magnifies Buddhism, as if, forsooth! it were a very rational sort of a creed for an intelligent man to hold in the nineteenth century. Yes, monstrous as it may seem, the gospel of our Saviour — the gospel of peace — is in some quarters giving place to the gospel of misery — the gospel of Buddha — and the former seems to be becoming a little out of fashion here and there. The Buddhist gospel of misery is, I fear, in some places, certainly in India, where we hoped it was extinct, coming into vogue. But mark two or three more contrasts which I should like to place before you ere I sit down. In the gospel of the Buddha we are told that the whole world lieth in suffering, as you have just heard. In the gospel of Christ the whole world lieth in wickedness. 'Glory in your sufferings; rejoice in them; make them steps towards heaven,' says the gospel of Christ. 'Away with all suffering; stamp it out, for it is the plague of humanity,' says the gospel of Buddha. 'The whole world is enslaved by sin,' says the Christian gospel; 'the whole world is enslaved by illusion,' says the gospel of Buddha. 'Sanctify your affections,' says the one; 'suppress them utterly,' says the other. 'Cherish your body and present it a living sacrifice to God,' says the Christian gospel; 'get rid of your body as the greatest of all curses,' says the Buddhist. 'We are God's workmanship,' says the Christian gospel; 'and God works in us, and by us, and through us.' 'We are our own workmanship,' says the gospel of Buddha, 'and no one works in us but ourselves.' Lastly, the Christian gospel teaches us to prize the gift of personal life as the most sacred, the most precious of all God's gifts. 'Life is real, life is earnest,' it seems to say, in the words of the great American poet; and it bids us thirst, not for death, not for extinction, but for the living God; whereas the Buddhist doctrine stigmatizes all thirst for life as an ignorant blunder, and sets forth, as the highest of all aims, utter extinction of personal existence."

—When we mention Burmah, our first thought, of course, is of the Baptists, the successors of Judson, that man of whom we once heard Dr. Henry W. Bellows say that the development of that one character would amply repay all the money and pains that had been spent upon the missionary work. America has sent out very many faithful missionaries, but only one Adoniram Judson. The "Baptist Missionary Magazine" for August, 1886, remarks that, during the Burman insurrection which has followed the British occupation, the Christian Karens, almost alone, have remained loyal, and have rendered almost the only effective service in the suppression of the revolt. — The Rev. J. B. Vinton, of Rangoon, says that the insurrection is purely a Buddhist one. "The Buddhist priests have led their men on the battlefield, a thing unprecedented in history." So great are the atrocities committed by the dacoits, or robber-bands, upon the people, that the Baptist missionaries have held it their duty personally to lead their people against them. — The Rev. David Smith, of Shwaygyeen, writes, in the "Magazine" for August: —

"The Karen hills, extensive as they are, are becoming, by virtue of the Karen Christians, a vast fortification to the British government, but which, if held by the Burmans, would become a vast, impenetrable den of thieves.

"But now the Burman is on the plain where English troops can get at them in the cities and along the rivers; so that they are held as in a vise, one jaw of

which is the English and Indian soldier on the plain, and the other is the Karen nation in the mountains. The Burman, in his idolatry, is caught in jaws of iron, and is constantly being screwed up by the influx of Indians on one side, and the natural drift of the Karens to the rich lands of the plain. There is one chance for him, — that is to accept Christianity, and so hold his own by virtue of what he is really worth as compared with his rivals. This, I think, he will do, for certainly Buddhism will not stand the pressure of Christian civilization. I think there is light breaking in from this direction, and that American Baptists may be encouraged to hold on to the ropes and not let the Burmans go.

"This late war has already moved Buddhism entirely off its base, and its leaders are groping already for a new footing by petitioning the government for an archbishop. Buddhism is a petrified, dead thing; so long as you let it alone it will be entire, but it has no vitality to compete with Christianity; and if tumbled about at all by the natural jostle of a Christian civilization, it will fall to pieces. It is like one of its pagodas; it has a wide, bulky base, but no roots. It has a top, but no branches, and no power to put forth or to enlarge itself, and if at all moved from its base crumbles to pieces, for its members are all lifeless, — mere bricks cemented by no law of growth, but piled in artificially, and maintaining their position only by law of gravity, the dead inertia of its priests and membership, a sort of social union. A little upheaving power, as the late war, leaves the whole thing a pile of rubbish."

— The Rev. William George, of Zeegong, writes: —

"The whole population is permeated with hatred to the British. . . . One boast is that they will drive Jesus Christ from the country; and for a while they aimed at the Christian Karen villages, but the Karens are not easily killed. They fought, and did such execution that they are not molested much now. It is different with our Burman disciples who live in the same villages with the heathen, as they are all loyal, as well as being disciples. I am amazed they can escape. So long as they can, it looks as if God were protecting them in an especial manner."

— In the last report of the American Baptist Missionary Union the great importance of Burmah for the work of Christ in Southeastern Asia is thus lucidly set forth: —

"The geographical situation of Upper Burmah is such that it borders no less than seven different countries, with which it bears peculiarly intimate relations, by reason of the race affinities of its peoples and the commercial importance of its territory as a highway for trade, as well as for the valuable markets and products which it affords. Upon the Shan States of Northern Siam, Burmah holds a controlling influence as the most accessible market for the products of that country of natural traders. To the great and populous southwest provinces of China, the Irrawaddy River, navigable to Bhamo, furnishes a natural outlet to the sea. With the hitherto inaccessible country of Tibet, Upper Burmah is closely linked by the numerous tribes of Kachins, a brave and energetic people, who extend from the mountains east and south, east of Bhamo, up into Eastern Tibet, no one knows exactly how far. This race is also supposed to be identical with the Nagas of the Southern Assam mountains, among whom our missionaries are already laboring. Through them, our missions in Burmah will reach out and join hands with our missions in Assam. For Bengal and other provinces of India, Burmah is the source of supply for the valuable timber and other products needed in these often arid and over-populated territories; while with Arracan and Lower Burmah, the new territory is united by the closest ties of consanguinity and inter-dependence.

"In entering upon Upper Burmah, therefore, as a mission-field, American Baptists begin labor in a country endeared to them by associations with the historic past, — a territory theirs by right as a natural extension of their earliest and most successful mission; and the peoples of which are kindred to those

among whom our missionaries have already gained great successes, and whose character and relations promise a speedy spread of the gospel over a wide area, and among nations destined to exercise an important influence upon the future civilization of Asia, and welfare of the world."

Charles C. Starbuck.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

INDIA REVISITED. By EDWIN ARNOLD, M. A., C. S. I., author of "The Light of Asia," etc., etc. Author's Edition. 12mo, pp. 324. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1886. \$2.00.

A FASCINATING little book of the eminent Buddhist convert and missionary. His poetic gifts are insufficient to transform into flowing writing the cumbrous Eastern material in which he delights. "The Light of Asia," no more than any of his books, will last. Compare him with one of the lightest of true poets, the author of "Lalla Rookh," and Arnold's literary inferiority becomes manifest at once. Each has wrought wide Oriental reading, and Arnold intimate Oriental knowledge, into fascinating misinformation. But "Lalla Rookh" is a congeries of real poems, over-strained and turgid, but genuine, and fairly entitled to live, perhaps for another century. "The Light of Asia" is not a poem, but a missionary tract, vivified by a great deal of delicious poetic feeling and imagery, but full of the sandstone that has not been able to fuse itself into crystal. So in this little book the author's occasional attempts at poetry proper jar and tire, though the result is better than the current impression in reading. But the body of the book exactly suits his gifts. It rests on the firm level of prose, but helps us to look out, with poetically enlightened eyes, upon the marvel and mystery of a land full of æsthetic magnificence of the present and the past. He turns it for us into a veritable Garden of Circe, into which if we enter without some other herb of grace than he will supply, we succumb to a delicious moral languor, that makes everything seem good as it is, that gives us to see holiness in Siva's bulls, and redemption in Rama's monkeys, and, sinking us lower than Circe, hardly withholds us from self-prostration before the obscene symbol which defiles the land from Coromandel to the Himalayas. The author himself, however, passes lightly over all this, without any sign of adoration, and only expands into the keenness of religious regret in dilating upon the spiritual loss which India has suffered in the suppression of widow-burning. He draws a moving picture of the self-forgetful widow advancing to the funeral pile to purchase the redemption of her husband's sins by her own tortures, while "the sick and sorrowful prayed her to touch them with her little fearless, conquering hand," and amid festal rejoicings of a whole region she "set her foot upon this earth of selfish hearts and timid beliefs." However, the author, with true Oriental resignation, though possibly not without a resentful thought of missionary intermeddling, concedes that this great sacrament and means of grace is to be understood as "forbidden henceforward, but in bygone times holy, admirable, elevating."

The author brings out in all its force the consciousness of that afflu-

ence of exquisite architecture in which Middle and Upper India abounds. Most of this dates from the Moslem times, and much of it combines "the old delicate skill of detailed ornament" with "the original strength of the invader's designs." Bayard Taylor's description of the Taj Mahal outdoes all Arnold's architectural descriptions together, but cannot give their sense of multiplied, infinitely varying and delicate luxuriousness of mosque after mosque, divan after divan, and seraglio after seraglio. Read this of the "Queen's Mosque," at Ahmedabad:—

"Bats hang in clusters beneath the fretted dome, and long-tailed monkeys squat upon the cornice, where Arabic inscriptions in mother-of-pearl or glazed colors proclaim the glory of Allah and the merits of the pious founder. The window-work of pierced marble, however, remains utterly wonderful for its variety and delicacy. The silky stone is cut into patterns which change with every lattice. They are all, no doubt, geometrical, for it is the Hindu only who revels in imitations of Nature, and loves to reproduce in marble climbing plants or the leaves and blossoms of the lotus. The Moslem, shunning all likeness of living things, has yet woven out of lines, circles, and triangles, and, above all, from the plastic character of his Arabic alphabet, designs of exhaustless fancy, through the fairy-like tracery of which the bright light winnows as if golden wine were poured through lace. . . . The columns, symmetrically designed, are crowned with capitals, engraved, rather than merely sculptured, into minute luxurious embroidery of volute and scroll; and everywhere—on plinth and abacus, frieze and entablature—appears the same lavish wealth of work and fancy; for it is characteristic of the Hindu art, which the Moslem also in this respect adopted, to leave no naked places in the stone. Wherever artistic toil can be bestowed it is freely given; so that even the lower surfaces of all platform edges, and the hidden recesses of domes and niches, are completely covered with beautiful labor, on the old Greek principle that 'the gods see everywhere.'

"Near the Jamalpur Gate rises another exquisite mosque, possessing still unbroken its graceful minarets of white marble, and embellished, in the same or even in a more astonishing manner, with elaborate carving and pierced work. One of the panels upon the principal building here, fashioned in a fairy-like pattern, is worked out of the solid stone, and all the lines 'undercut' like a Chinese ivory ball, so that a finger inserted behind the work can feel the marble studs left to support the tracery. It would have been easier, and little less effective, to leave the solid stone beneath the pattern; but the faithful mason scorned such scamping work. An upright lamp-stand, wrought from the solid side of a column, stands here, of a conception admirable for elegance and utility; and the pillars sustaining the five cupolas of the *rozah* are well worthy to form a canopy for the relics of that beautiful princess, the Rani Sipsā, to whose memory the mosque was erected. Briefly, words fail to describe the dainty loveliness of many among these Mohammedan memorials, dusty and decayed as they are at present. Some of them, like Haibat Khan's mosque, interest by exhibiting the way in which Moslem and Hindu styles of architecture were combined. The Manek Burg, or 'Ruby Tower,' contains a window of perforated alabaster, by some Hindu master-hand, where the stems and foliage of a creeper are so simulated that nature is not more lithe and living than the stone. The carving on the Tin Darwaza, or 'Triple Gateway;' the lace-work round the Tomb of Shah Alum; the sculpture at Dhace Harir's Well, might each of them supply pages of admiring comment; and the bygone opulence of Ahmedabad in these delicate triumphs of art may be gathered from the fact that in the sixteenth century there were not less than a thousand stone and marble mosques, tombs, and kiosques in or near her walls."

Falling into neglect as these things are, it seems that there ought to be a tide of travel to view the wonders of this land of Alhambras, while they last. The author's chapter on the City of Victory is yet more fascinating. The mountain city of Middle India, Jeypore, is the

capital of the Rajputs, that is, "children of kings," the unbroken pedigree of whose Maharajah goes back through one hundred and thirty-nine names to Kusa, the son of Rama. "It was esteemed an extraordinary condescension when a Rajput princess espoused a Great Mogul in the zenith of his power." And for ages the female children of the great Thakoors were killed at birth with poison put on the breast of the nurse, in sheer despair of finding mates of such rank as they could wed. The palace which is the heart of Jeypore is thus described : —

"These enormous edifices of masonry, which tower on all sides in quaint shapes of stone and metal, the huge Nariol, or sun-dial; the Druv Nal, or pointer to the North Pole; the Yantr Samrat, 'King of Dials,' whose gnomon is one hundred and eighty-nine feet high, registering the true sun-time; the Chakra Yantr, or Brazen Circles, to determine the declination of the stars; and a variety of other ancient and mysterious appliances. Passing by the great astronomical court and threading next a wilderness of marvelous archways and fanciful architectures, the grand entrance of the palace, the Siran Deorhi, is now attained, beyond which stands, in another splendid square, the Hall of the Nobles, girdled with marble columns, and the Diwan-i-Am, or hall of public audience.

"A small gate to the west next brings you to the Chanda Mahal, or 'Silver House,' the heart and marvel of all this immense abode. Seven stories of such wild and lovely structure as you would expect to see only in dreams rise here one above the other in rose-red and snowy-white balconies, oriels, arches, pilasters, lattices, and domes — gay everywhere with frescoes and floral ornaments. . . . We step forth upon the Mokt or 'Crown' of the palace, where the vast flat roof is encircled with shady alcoves and open chambers, vaulted by graceful curved cupolas. Beneath lie the green palace gardens, full of pomegranates, palms, and bananas; and beyond, the spread of the countless busy streets and lanes, girdled by the walls, and overhung by the encircling hills, topped with forts and temples. It is vain to attempt any description of that enchanting prospect of royal pavilions, busy streets, beautiful gardens, and green country-sides, more novel and absorbing than any other which India herself can offer. Nature and man have here allied themselves to produce the most perfect and lovely landscape conceivable."

But read the book, and know India, assured that a veil will be spread over all that is morally revolting, rent only here and there by the jagged edge of some hideous thing that will not down.

We may wonder that the author is so in love with that India which has cast out his beloved Buddhism, the acceptance of which by all mankind he makes to be the coming in of the millennium. But by a sublime exertion of the disciple's devotion — the more admirable in that the disciple, after all, is only a dilettante — he insists that Brahmanic India, obscenity, cruelty, caste, and beast-worshiping all reckoned in, is still only a Buddhist in disguise. The disguise appears to be pretty effectual.

But in Ceylon the author breathes the pure air of the unadulterated gospel of Nirvāna, that doctrine which its own thinkers declare to be nihilistic atheism, but which the author, by large expenditure of goodwill, converts into an intangible somewhat, whose lower stage may be defined as feeble benevolence, and its higher as mild indifference, such as, to use the figure of his arch-abbot in Ceylon, is no more disturbed by human necessities than by the chattering of crows. His demeanor among "the mild-eyed, melancholy lotus-eaters" of the yellow robe is an interesting blending of the modesty of the neophyte and the dignity of the patron. He benevolently assures us, however, that he means no harm to

Christianity, awaiting, doubtless, the time when it shall placidly melt into the millennial effulgence of that name which, as he sufficiently implies, negatively and positively, in his pious journeyings among the scenes of Gautama's life in Upper India, he is abundantly willing to accept as "above every name." In the mean time he shows the teeth of the British bull-dog against Ireland, Spain coveting her own Gibraltar, and all the world.

He utterly disdains the notion that rebellion is brooding in India. He has been everywhere, he says, in the crowd and in the forest, and in this visit has never seen a sullen look. He appears to dislike the Ilbert Bill, as "throwing the egg into the fire to hatch it," but he energetically commits himself to the policy of which that is the concentration, as the condition on which the lasting loyalty of India to its British Empress must rest. Force, he says, has not won India, and force can never hold her.

"Neither before nor after the sad times of 1857 . . . did the common people of India even for one single instant ever desire to see the *Sahib* depart. They do not love us, except individually. As a caste we have their affection yet to win. But they trust, they admire, and they appreciate the honest gentlemen and the fearless warriors who guard them with a barrier of manhood stronger than the Himalayas. Nevertheless the time is coming when India must approach much nearer to us, must have larger life, and not only know England better, but be better known herself."

In describing the three capitals, the author gives a good impression of the contrast between the gleaming brightness and fresh life of Bombay, the heavy splendor of Calcutta, and the cheerful, picturesque animation of Madras. By a long anticipation, Britain and India have been found linked in the discovery, while digging for foundations at Madras, of a golden coin of Claudius, struck *ob Britannos devictos*. And New England is brought into connection with it by the fact that the *Mayflower*, in 1659, was chartered for India, and went down at last on the voyage home. Of the later connection which is bringing so many children of both the Englands to labor for the regeneration of India by "The Light of the World," the author, as might be expected, is disdainfully oblivious. But it is of small account what Edwin Arnold forgets, so long as John Lawrence remembers.

Charles C. Starbuck.

A MORTAL ANTIPATHY. First Opening of The New Portfolio. By OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. 12mo, pp. 307. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1885. \$1.50.

IN the opinion of Dr. Holmes, it is safe to address the "general public as if it were his private correspondent" with "anything one likes, provided he can so tell it as to make it interesting." Exception might be taken to the saying as a sober rule, and the personal equation would render it uncertain when applied to the individual case. But the Autocrat need ask no leave, as he opens his *New Portfolio*, and we shall welcome with interest whatever treasures he may bring forth, whether they be things new or old.

The introduction to this latest volume, like the broad porch which makes a house look hospitable, invites us to linger and enjoy the spacious ease and the distant view. Each period in the writer's life lends its own coloring to these pictures of the past, and the Boston of his boyhood

changes slowly, as in a dissolving view, into the Boston of to-day. The old gambrel-roofed house in suburban Cambridge, already famous through the writer's earlier tribute, receives us under its generous shelter. We look at the pictures in the Athenæum gallery with the wondering, wide-open eyes of the Cambridge boy. We walk the streets with the young man fresh from college, and meet the celebrities of fifty years ago. There is Willis, "by far the most prominent young American author," "something between a remembrance of Count D'Orsay and an anticipation of Oscar Wilde;" and there is Snelling, the savage critic, who found in Willis a shining mark, "tomahawked him in heroics, ran him through in prose, and scalped him in barbarous epigrams." Nor are there wanting reminiscences more serious and tender in tone. The later memories are chiefly of this cast, and the reader will no doubt linger longest over the tribute to Motley, the richest passage of all in feeling and interest.

As a novel, "*A Mortal Antipathy*" eludes the canons of construction and criticism. The thread of the story is slender, now lost in the tangled web of other interests, now caught in knots that seem inextricable. Incidents are contrived with curious and fanciful ingenuity, and characters are sometimes but droll personifications of current whim and perversity, described with thinly-disguised thrusts at certain manias of our age and civilization. Euthymia, as befits her name, is "sweet-souled," healthful, and human throughout, and Dr. Butts attracts the reader by his unflinching good temper and shrewd but quiet mother-wit. But Miss Lurida Vincent, blue-stocking, book-worm, and boarding-school genius in one, gives a painful impression of abnormal development, and fairly rivals the chief victim of the story as a phenomenal case. Mr. Maurice Kirkwood, with his strange antipathy and its stranger remedy, is a mystery to us as well as to the people of Arrowhead Village and the members of the Pansophian Society, and we leave the patient to the care of the doctors. Even the lay reader, however, is tempted to feel the pulse of each character as he appears, and the novel itself is largely a study in pathology, relieved now by a bit of poetry, and now by an essay like the charming paper upon Ocean, River, and Lake, as delightful as anything which the Autocrat has ever written.

Theodore C. Pease.

MALDEN.

THE RIGVEDA : THE OLDEST LITERATURE OF THE INDIANS. By ADOLF KÆGI, Professor in the University of Zürich. Authorized Translation, with Additions to the Notes. By R. ARROWSMITH, Ph. D., Instructor in Sanskrit, Racine College, Racine, Wisconsin. Pp. vi., 198. Boston : Ginn & Co. 1886.

THIS translation is from the second revised and enlarged edition of the German work, which was published in 1881. The author, Professor Adolf Kaegi, of Zürich, a former pupil of Professor Roth, of Tübingen, was first favorably known by his share in the translation of the "Seventy Hymns of the Rig Veda," Tübingen, 1875.

The present work, as we are told in the Preface, is designed "to embrace the results of Vedic investigation, as well for beginners in the study as for all those who have a more special interest in this literature, the importance of which is perceived and admitted in ever-widening circles, especially for theologians, philologists, and historians."

The literature which has grown out of a study of India's oldest book has already reached very considerable proportions, and is increasing so rapidly year by year that even specialists have no easy task to keep abreast of it. The book before us can hardly claim to present any facts which have not been repeatedly stated before in the writings of Muir, Williams, Barth, Zimmer, and others, or to confirm them with fresh or more trustworthy testimony. The author's task is a more modest but not necessarily useless one; it is to present in compendious form those views regarding the Rig Veda — the principles of its interpretation and its contents — which are now generally received by scholars. This, however, has been accompanied with original research and the spirit of independent criticism.

The leading topics are: Vedic Literature and Exegesis; the Vedic People and its Civilization; the Collection of Hymns — their language, form, and contents; the Religious Poetry, Religious Thought, and Vedic Belief; the Divinities; Belief in Immortality; Secular Poetry.

The author's views of interpretation are those of the most judicious school of Vedic criticism, of which Professor Roth is the most eminent representative. These views are well summed up in the following words regarding the labors of that scholar: "By the aid of grammatical and etymological comparison, by confronting all passages related in sense and form, he endeavored, keeping in view the tradition, to evolve the meaning of single words, and so created a broad and firm foundation for Vedic exegesis."

The description of the Vedic deities is given, so far as possible, in the language of the hymns themselves; and when this reminds one of passages in the Hebrew Scriptures the fact is noted without comment.

What will seem to many the most valuable feature of the book is the copious Notes, which are appended to the text, and cover about the same number of pages. These contain, besides supplementary and explanatory matter, a very full citation of authorities, pro and con, on all points of Vedic study, which will be found exceedingly helpful to beginners, and not a little convenient to those already versed in the literature of the subject.

The translator's part has been to make a close rendering of the work into English, without change or comment, save to add a version of the Frog Song, and to supplement the Notes with such material as had escaped the author's notice, or has appeared since the publication of the German edition. This naturally does fuller justice to the contributions of American scholars. The translation, so far as we have made comparison, appears in general faithfully to represent the original. In some instances the rendering has left an obscurity in the sense which does not belong to the language of the author; in others, a little more care in citation of pages and in proof-reading would have been well bestowed. These are, however, minor defects. We can cordially commend the book for the purposes and to the extent indicated above.

John Avery.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

ÆTHIOPISCHE GRAMMATIK, MIT PARADIGMEN, LITTERATUR, CHRESTOMATHIE UND GLOSSAR. Von Dr. F. PRAETORIUS, Ord. Professor an der Universität zu Breslau. Karlsruhe und Leipzig : H. Reuther ; New York : B. Westermann & Co. 1886.

THE appearance of an Ethiopic Grammar is an event in Semitic philology. Since the grammar of Dillman in 1857 there has been no need for a new one. Few scholars have ever reigned so supreme as has August Dillman in the Ethiopic language, and the present work contains nothing to discredit him. It only claims to be an elementary grammar which does not decide scientific questions, yet it discusses interesting morphological facts from a comparative point of view, using, however, for pedagogical reasons, only Hebrew and Arabic for purposes of comparison.

In the near future, when the science of Comparative Semitic Philology may be counted on to take its rise, Ethiopic will play a prominent part in the discussion, and it is from this rather than from any literary point of view that its study is of importance. No other Semitic language, not even Syriac, is so absolutely uninteresting for literary purposes.

For nine hundred years Ethiopic, or more properly Gheez, has been a sacred language, having for political reasons succumbed, as a spoken language, to the Southern dialect, Amharic. Ethiopic belongs to the group of languages generally denominated as South-Semitic. These Semites who inhabited Abyssinia probably came from Arabia about the time of Christ. In the fourth century they were converted to Christianity and very much subjected to Greek influence, using Greek letters as their numerals, altering the shape of some of their characters, and changing the direction of their writing so as to make it run from left to right.

Although none of the MSS. extend back to the time when Ethiopic was a spoken language, some of the confusions in the sibilants and gutturals are interesting and suggestive.

In accordance with the plan adopted for the "Porta Linguarum Orientalium" Dr. Praetorius states all the grammatical facts briefly, gives full paradigm tables, a bibliography, chrestomathy, and glossary. The two preceding members of this series, Socin's Arabic Grammar, and Strack's Hebrew Grammar, were published in an English translation. For the Ethiopic Grammar this will not be attempted, though it is possible that a Latin edition will be published. Students will be grateful to Dr. Praetorius for his admirable work, and science indebted to him for having made so important a language more accessible.

Cyrus Adler.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MD.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston and Chicago. Selections from the Psalms and other Scriptures in the Revised Version, for Responsive Reading in Church Services and on Special Occasions. Edited by Rev. Joseph T. Duryea, D. D. Pp. viii., 132. 50 cents ; — *The Book ; or When, and By Whom, the Bible was written.* By Rev. S. Leroy Blake, D. D. With an Introduction by Professor M. B. Riddle. Pp. 283. \$1.50.

Ginn & Company, Boston. Outlines of Æsthetics. Dictated Portions of the

Lectures of Hermann Lotze. Translated and edited by George T. Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale College. Pp. 108. 1886. \$1.00.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. Poverty Grass. By Lillie Chace Wyman. 16mo, pp. vii., 320. 1886. \$1.25; — Memoirs and Letters of Dolly Madison, wife of James Madison, President of the United States. Edited by her Grand-Niece. 16mo, pp. 210. 1886. \$1.25.

Carl Schoenhof, Boston. Das verborgne Leben in Christo. Dargestellt in Erzählungen, Betrachtungen, geschichtlichen Bildern u. s. w. Für Geistlichen, Lehrer, besonders für Sonntagsschulen, sowie zur häuslichen Erbauung. Von Dr. Fr. Schröder, ev. Pfarrer in Jülich. Erstes Heft, pp. 85; zweites Heft, pp. 98. Leipzig: Johannes Lehmann. 1886; — Novellen von Marie von Welck. Pp. 334. Leipzig: Id. 1886; — Sören Kierkegaard. Studien auf dem Lebenswege. Studien von Verschiedenen. Zusammengebracht, zum Druck befördert und herausgegeben von Hilarius Buchbinder. Uebersetzt von A. Bärthold. Pp. 500. Leipzig: Id. 1886; — Aus den Jugendjahren Jesu. Eine Darstellung geistiger Zustände im heiligen Lande einige Jahre vor der Taufe des Herrn. Nebst Studien über die Jugendjahre Jesu. Von Lic. theol. Theodor Hansen, Pastor in Oestrup bei Odense. Autorisierte deutsche Ausgabe von P. O. Gleiss. Pp. 298. Leipzig: Id. 1886; — Das Wesen des Unglaubens. Populäre polemische Vorträge von J. C. Heuch. Aus dem Norwegischen von P. O. Gleiss. Autorisierte Ausgabe. Pp. 308. Leipzig: Id. 1886.

Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. Lives of Girls Who became Famous. By Sarah K. Bolton, author of "Poor Boys Who became Famous," etc. 12mo, pp. vi., 347. \$1.50; — Meditations of a Parish Priest. Thoughts by Joseph Roux. Introduction by Paul Mariéton. Translated from the Third French Edition by Isabel F. Hapgood. 12mo, pp. xxx., 213. \$1.25; — St. John's Eve, and other Stories. From "Evenings at the Farm," and "St. Petersburg Stories." By Nikolai Vasilievitch Gogol. Translated from the Russian by Isabel F. Hapgood. 12mo, pp. 380. \$1.25.

Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Commentary on the Gospel of John, with an Historical and Critical Introduction. By F. Godet, Doctor in Theology and Professor in the Faculty of the Independent Church of Neuchâtel. Vol. II. Translated from the Third French Edition; with a Preface, Introductory Suggestions, and additional Notes. By Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College. 8vo, pp. x., 551. 1886. \$3.00.

Scribner & Welford, New York. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. New Series. Vol. XXVI. Apologetics; or the Scientific Vindication of Christianity. By J. H. A. Ehrard, Ph. D., D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated by Rev. William Stewart, B. A., and Rev. John Macpherson, M. A. Vol. I. Pp. xix., 407.

E. R. Andrews, Rochester, New York. Systematic Theology: A Compendium and Commonplace-Book designed for the use of theological students. By Augustus Hopkins Strong, D. D., President and Professor of Biblical Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary. Royal 8vo, pp. xxiii., 758. 1886. \$5.00.

The Interstate Publishing Company, Chicago. Through a Microscope. Something of the Science, together with many curious observations in-door and out, and directions for a home-made Microscope. By Samuel Wells, Mary Treat, and Frederick Leroy Sargent. 16mo, pp. 126. 60 cents; — The Making of Pictures. Twelve short talks with young people. By Sarah W. Whitman. 16mo, pp. 131. 60 cents; — Entertainments in Chemistry. Easy Lessons and directions for safe experiments. By Harry W. Tyler, S. B. of the Mass. Institute of Technology. 16mo, pp. 79. 60 cents.

Cambridge (England) University Press. Fragments of Philo Judæus. Newly edited by J. Rendel Harris, M. A., Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge, Professor of Biblical Languages in Haverford College, Pennsylvania. With two facsimiles. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. Pp. 110. 1886.

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HOME, SWEET HOME.

IT WAS THE CALM AND SILENT NIGHT.

MY FAITH LOOKS UP TO THEE.

THE MOUNTAIN ANTHEM. The Beatitudes.

NEARER, MY GOD, TO THEE.

OH, WHY SHOULD THE SPIRIT OF MORTAL BE PROUD?

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